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**ANALYSIS OF CONVERSATION:
POLITENESS, SEQUENCE, AND TOPIC WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO TROUBLES-TALK IN TURKISH**

by

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D)

The Open University

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the investigation of politeness in stretches of talk, and covers conversational components like adjacency pairs, sequences, topic, as well as turn internal features such as dispreference markers, and to some extent, mitigation techniques. Troubles-talk in naturally occurring Turkish conversations provides the necessary data.

Politeness has so far been studied methodically in single utterances, but its presence in longer stretches of talk has not received a similar interest, nor, to the best of our knowledge, has any methodical work in this area been carried out. To provide a systematic approach to lengthy pieces of conversation, a new framework is developed in Chapter 1 from the well-known notions of politeness like 'face' (Goffman, 1971, 1972) and 'Face Threatening Acts' (FTAs - Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987), while a combination of extracts from the literature of Conversational Analysis is used to flesh out the discussion. With the inclusion of Face Boosting Acts, which are thought to be the opposite of FTAs, the framework shows that in situations where 'positive face' is threatened or boosted, the change in the face values creates Interactional Imbalance, always to the disadvantage of one speaker, and the subsequent turn is commonly designed to put the balance right. Where imbalance is created unwillingly to the disadvantage of the recipient, or has to be ignored, speech is marked with dispreferred turn markers.

Before looking for evidence of these points in responses to troubles-telling - a considerable threat to the teller's face - procedures of collection, selection and presentation of data are discussed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 starts with the topic initiating characteristics of troubles-telling and goes on to explore the acknowledgement types that it gets, differentiated in terms of their capacity to encourage or discourage further talk. Despite different consequences for topic, all acknowledgements are found to be face boosters, and preferred turns.

In comparison, Advice is explored in Chapter 4 as a dispreferred turn with further face damage for the teller. It is also found to extend the sequence on the one hand, but minimize the chances of having a proper closure for the talk, on the other.

Troubles-telling responses, incorporating a varying degree of disagreement, are examined in Chapter 5, where it is decided that disagreement is a face booster as long as it follows the recognizable patterns in the culture.

The summary of these points in the Conclusion opens up the way to further theoretical issues like the relation of Interactional Imbalance to sequence types, Conditional Relevance, and topic, apart from pinpointing the predominance of face considerations in conversational practice in general.

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to show that considerations of politeness play a crucial role in the shaping and sequencing of speaker turns and that the organisation of talk is strongly influenced by these considerations. To achieve this end, recorded data have been analyzed with the techniques of Conversational Analysis (CA) and evaluated within a framework of politeness. In the course of this, although it was not our original concern, a tangential issue has emerged and been incorporated accordingly into the work: the connection between politeness and the maintenance of topic, on which more will be said in Chapter 2 (2.2) and the Conclusion.

The material that has given us access to the main purpose of this work is 'troubles-talk' in naturally occurring Turkish conversations. Detailed explanation of what we mean by 'naturally occurring' will be given space also in Chapter 2 (2.1). It will suffice here to say that the conversations under observation took place among participants who were in natural contexts (house-visit) with natural ties (friends, relatives, neighbours) and were unaware of the experimental motives involved at the time of speech.

By 'troubles-talk' we refer to the common phenomenon in conversation when one of the speakers (the troubles-teller) produces an utterance in the form of a statement and informs the other speaker (the troubles-recipient) of the existence of a personal problem (troubles-telling or complaint), the subsequent talk revolves around this trouble for a number of exchanges, forming a unit in the conversation where the trouble becomes the topic of the talk. This unit is especially attractive for studying politeness over a sequence of speaker turns (cf. Sec. 1.4).

As a result of growing interest in politeness, references made to it in the literature have shown a distinct progress in tone over the years and upgraded its importance from a device used in order 'to reduce friction in

personal interaction' (Lakoff, 1975, p. 64) to a principle which is 'basic to the production of social order and a pre-condition of human co-operation' (Gumperz, 1987, p. xiii). Indeed, today few, if any, can deny that politeness is an important factor in the production of speech. It has certainly been our experience that without the support of the concept of politeness, our observations on troubles-talk would have been shadows in the dark. However, we needed more than a mere concept. The well-wishing formulaic expressions which are quite common in troubles-talk, like 'May God give you patience', or 'May you recover soon', are readily associable with politeness (Goffman, 1971; Ferguson, 1981; Tannen and Oztek, 1981; Coulmas, 1981; Davies, 1987), but some other responses to troubles-telling such as 'I should only have such problems' (Turner, 1976, p. 248) represent a finer shade of politeness and require a detailed platform to rest on.

To satisfy this need, a framework of politeness has been set up in Chapter 1, and some of the findings of CA have been assessed therein. In establishing the framework, we have used the notions of politeness developed by Goffman, and Brown and Levinson. However, we have re-set these in such a way that not have only the CA findings found an interesting base, but also our observations of troubles-talk have gained more explication.

In this introductory section we will try to explain

- i) why the analytical method of CA has been used,
- ii) why we have chosen the Turkish language and culture,
- iii) why troubles-talk has been taken as the material for analysis,
- iv) why troubles-telling is a popular activity in Turkey, and
- v) what are the rights and obligations in troubles-telling and receiving for Turkish speakers.

i) Although CA has eventually found its way into the field of Linguistics (see for example, Levinson, 1983) it originally developed from the interest in talk as a means of studying social organisation. In Speier's (1972) words:

"I want to make a very simple proposal for doing interactional investigations treat any observable interaction in which a conversational exchange is made as a socially organised set of speech events. These events are accomplished by the members of that exchange by virtue of their knowledge and application of conventional procedures of conversing, to a large extent. Cultural competence in using conversational procedures in social interaction not only displays adequate social membership among participants in the culture, but more deeply, it provides a procedural basis for the ongoing organisation of that culture when members confront and deal with one another daily. To study interaction, then, I am proposing that we explicate the procedures in conversational exchanges taking place among everyday actors, for they hold a powerful clue to the nature of social organisation".

(p. 389)

Just like 'walking together which needs the members' co-ordinated accomplishments in producing (doing walking) and observing (recognising how the other member walks, his pace, direction, spacial proximity, etc. so that one's own walking will be in accordance with all these (Ryave and Schenkein, 1975), 'talking together' needs the co-operation of the speakers in producing (talking) and recognising (listening) for an orderly and continuous activity. Studies of verbal interaction, therefore, constitute only a part of the discipline which is commonly known as Ethnomethodology (Turner, 1975a; Garfinkel 1967, 1972) and are concerned with observing and reporting the organisational features that are methodically produced by the members during the course of natural conversation (Psathas, 1979; Schenkein 1978b; Atkinson and Heritage, 1984; Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Heritage, 1984b; Button and Lee, 1987).

This approach is as much interested in the sequential placement of speaker turns (time taken by one speaker before another starts talking, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1978) and their interdependent character (e.g.

'adjacency pairs'¹ - Schegloff and Sacks, 1975) as in the specific features displayed in these turns, both of which are of utmost importance in the achievement of various interactional tasks. Thus, a speaker may produce 'Hello?' at the beginning of a telephone call in which case it is a summons (Schegloff, 1979) to the caller, or in the middle of the call, in which case 'Hello?' replaces 'Are you still there?' (Sacks, LN, 1968). Similarly, 'Oh' achieves different tasks depending on whether it is produced after 'informings' or, say, after 'clarifications' (Heritage, 1984a). Also, conversational particles like 'anyway', 'well', 'you know', 'hey' etc. which had ended up in the grammarians' waste basket until recently have been recognised for what they achieve in the interaction (Goldberg, 1976; Pomerantz, 1975, 1978; Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Teresaki, 1976; Schegloff and Sacks, 1975; Owen 1981, 1983; Wootton, 1981).

The analytical technique in this approach which we have followed is inductive. That is to say, recordings of natural conversations are transcribed and observed for recurring features. The findings are those features traced over numerous examples of conversation taking place in different contexts and between different people. Because the aim is to discover the context-free regularities in conversation, the workers in this field do not spare time for the explanation of who speaks to whom, where, under what circumstances, etc.

An alternative model of analysis would have been a linguistic one: we could have examined single utterances with a view to classifying them as different politeness strategies depending on the sentential features (passive voice, question tags, pronouns, intensifying adjectives, negative, interrogative, hedging verbs, past tense, etc.) that they contain, as Brown and Levinson do (1978, 1987, also following in their path are House and Kasper, 1981, with politeness markers in English and German). To give one example, 'if' clauses

are said to be used in English, Tamil, and Tzeltal to express a polite request:

English: Close the window, if you can (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 162)

Tamil: koncam paNam iruntaa, kuTunka
if you have a little money, give (i.e. lend) it (p. 163)

Tzeltal: sa ham in ti naili ta me ya stak
open this door, if you can (p. 163)

We have strong reservations about tracing politeness in single, isolated utterances and on the grounds of their grammatical characteristics, especially when the language under observation is not English. As an extreme case, for example, a verbatim translation of

Arzudan ilaci istiyecektim

(PN-abl medicine-acc. want-going to-past tense suffix-1st person sing.)

I was going to ask Arzu (to bring the) medicine

in its single utterance form is not recognizable as a deferential request even to a Turkish speaker, let alone to a non-Turk. Put in its sequential location, however, one does not need to know the delicacies of the language to understand its function:

(A and N are in S's house)

A: Is there a telephone here?

N: No (.) What do you want the telephone for?

A: I was going to ask Arzu (to bring the) medicine, I think it was Panalgine=

S: =I've got it, give me a second and I'll bring it immediately, I've got it.

(Ext. 1, p. 240, lines 1-4)

In contrast,

Ver gotureyim

(give take away-let me-1st person sing.)

Give (them to me) Let me take (them) away

although it looks very much like a request, is in fact, a jovial follow up to a compliment rejection:

(K is in E's house)

K: Ah! Your flowers are beautiful.

E: They have faded away. I put them here at Bayram.

K: Really? In that case, give (them to me) let me take (them) away hah hah.

E: Take them, honestly.

K: They're beautiful

E: er- they have faded.

(Ext.2, p.240-1, lines 1-6)

We believe that politeness is universal; however, the different procedures in which it is demonstrated and to what extent it is demonstrated cannot be observed unless a turn-by-turn analysis is applied, and this is why CA, with its sensitivity to minute details and sequential regularities, is needed.

ii) Turkish has been chosen for the simple reason that, being a native speaker, it is to us as accessible as, or perhaps even more accessible than, the English Language. However, using it in conjunction with CA immediately created an advantage and a disadvantage for us.

First the disadvantage: as explained above, the methodology of CA is based on the understanding that the 'members of a culture produce and recognise intelligible courses of action' (Heritage, forthcoming, p. 1) by utilizing 'culturally provided resources' (Turner, 1975b, p. 214). Just as the conversationalists themselves, the analysts also refer to their common

cultural background in the interpretation of these actions. There is no need, for example, to define, say, a 'troubles-telling' as long as it is there and is in a recognizable form. As Turner (1975a) says:

"In noting that for members a 'real world' is undubitably just there, without reference to its accomplished character, the last thing it (the discipline) has in mind is to cast systematic doubt upon the 'existence of a real world'."

(p. 11)

The same is true for *conversations* in any language as long as the analyst shares the same culture with those whose speech he is analysing, but when the 'audience' are not familiar with the language and culture in question, it falls to the analyst to familiarize the audience with these.

Although some may propose that one needs to know only the minimum about the culture as one can get everything one needs from sequencing, because the latter is interpretable through the former, sequences in different languages are recognizable only in the instances where the cultures invoke the same sequential outputs. On the other hand, if there are cross-cultural differences, the realisations of these in the sequential system may lead to incorrect assumptions. For example, a reader who is unfamiliar with the Turkish culture and is not in the cultural framework where compliments can be repeated over and over again after each declination, may take 'Give them to me, let me take them away' as a genuine request. As is obvious from this example, apart from the knowledge of the sequential rules, an analyst has to know how these rules are to be realised in speech. For this reason and to avoid misapprehensions, we have had to provide justification for the selection of certain utterances as 'troubles-telling' (see Chapter 2 (2.2)). We have also had to include lengthy explanations in the analysis, both of which would have been unnecessary if the language used here were English.

Now the advantage: within Socio-Linguistics, compared to English or other European languages, Turkish has not been studied much, and so far as Conversational Analysis is concerned, to the best of our knowledge, it has not been studied at all.² The truth is, application of CA techniques to non-European languages is almost nil. In the second edition of their work on politeness, the point is raised by Brown and Levinson (1987), who speak almost on our behalf for the importance and originality of this study:

"(Our framework) does suggest a more abstract level of explanation to which Conversational Analysis might usefully refer, perhaps reconstructing our ideas in line with the empirical observations. It is a matter of regret that so little conversation analysis has been done in non-Western languages, especially by native speakers of them, but this lacuna will we hope be filled in the near future."

(p. 41)

and make a reference, among others, to our study, in a footnote to this paragraph.

Therefore, by taking Turkish as our medium, we (i) provide a testing ground for the universality that Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) claim for politeness, and (ii) apply the methodology of CA to a new area to extract detailed material (Ch.s 3, 4, and 5) which can be used for comparative/contrastive purposes in the future.

In connection with this, we claim that the CA findings which have close connections with changes in the social prestige of the speakers (i.e. preference organisation, and sequences of compliments, accusations, self-degradations, and boasting - Ch. 1) cannot be specific to English alone, but should be a part of a politeness system applicable to all societies where 'face' (Ch. 1) is an important factor in human relations. In the data chapters we mainly focus on Turkish troubles-talk and carry out a strictly descriptive study but as troubles-telling proves to have implications for face and triggers this system of politeness, we expect at least some of our findings would be similarly valid

for English (see Brown and Levinson, 1987, pp. 40-41, for comments on the face damaging implications of troubles-telling in English). The fact that we make sporadic and ad-hoc references to some similarities between our findings and the English examples that are encountered in the CA literature should be taken as no more than a sign of such expectations. Obviously, there can be differences as well due to cultural variations, but what the similarities and differences are must fall within the scope of those future comparative/contrastive studies, rather than in ours.

On the point of originality, we would also like to claim that we have developed here a very useful notion, 'Interactional Imbalance' which explains politeness operating over sequences. Furthermore, ours is one of the pioneering works in which the methodology of CA and the theories of politeness are brought together (although there have been inclinations towards this end in the literature recently - see Heritage, forthcoming; Brown and Levinson, 1987; but most notably Owen, 1983). However, we do not know any other study in which 'topic' is also linked to this combination.

iii) Why 'troubles-talk' and not something else? It is natural for certain branches of social sciences dealing with individual or community welfare like Psychology, Psycho-therapy, Sociology, Socio-therapy, Counselling etc. to take this phenomenon as their core subject. It can also appeal to the 'caring professions' like doctors, social workers, health visitors etc. as Heritage puts it (forthcoming). But why should it be attractive to a conversational analyst, for indeed, it has proved its attraction in the field of CA so far. The notable studies are those of Turner (1972, 1976, also Sharrock and Turner 1978 - but his interests are perhaps more therapeutically oriented than they are linguistically). Then, there is Pomerantz's work which includes only those troubles-telling cases that are self-deprecatory (1975, 1978, 1984a). Owen's work (1983) which to a small extent covers troubles-tellings does not count

because here these are not potential initiators of troubles-talk but are 'priming moves' used by the speaker to remind the other that an apology is due (e.g. A complains that her vision is blocked by various objects, and B apologizes and takes away the complainables).

Among the existing work, Jefferson's (1980a, 1980b, 1984a, 1984b, also Jefferson and Lee - 1981) is by far the most relevant to this investigation. The arguments carried out in her earlier papers are united (although they appear in an edited and somewhat condensed form) in Jefferson (1988). Here Jefferson looks at the segmental ordering of troubles-talk which, from its initiation to its termination, goes through all or some of the following stages: A) Approach, B) Arrival, C) Delivery, D) Work-up, E) Close implicative, and F) Exit. These 6 segments are then divided into 3 or four sub-segmental elements. Despite the fact that it holds interesting resemblances to our findings in Turkish (and these will be referred to where necessary throughout this thesis), Jefferson (1988) is less exhaustive of the subject mainly for the following reasons:

1. Jefferson realizes that, in the course of dealing with a trouble, 'the talk moves from an engagement with business as usual to a focusing upon the trouble, and then to a re-engagement with business as usual. Likewise, the relational distance of co-participants moves from some conversational standard to varying degrees of intimacy and back again' (p. 438). However, because politeness considerations are not taken into account, the purpose of such a movement, especially in the area of 'intimacy', remains unexplained. Our approach, with its emphasis on politeness, provides a convincing motive for this movement.

2. Jefferson does not distinguish troubles-responses in terms of preferred/dispreferred turns, and is not concerned with the way these turns are connected to politeness. Because of this, the implications of different responses for the sequential development of trouble-talk, and for topic-

closure are not noticeable. The present thesis endeavours to bring clarity to such matters in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

Coming back to the popularity of troubles-talk for the Conversational Analysts, the reason why such researchers have dealt closely with the phenomenon is not up to us to say. Speaking for ourselves, a number of factors stimulated us to undertake a troubles-talk study, which, we claim, covers a wider scope than any of the research work mentioned above although not contradicting it.

The first motivation is a personal one and dates a couple of decades back to my early encounters with the English culture and native speakers. More specifically, it is to do with the instinctive feeling I had each time I announced a personal problem, a feeling which told me that 'something was wrong' without revealing what this 'wrong' related to. This singled out troubles-telling for me as a 'sensitive' area, deserving attention.

In the initial stages of this research and while going through the recorded data to decide what to concentrate on, it came to our notice that a considerable part of the overall conversations was taken up by troubles-talk, and that troubles of different natures were disclosed freely. The quality of these was attractive from a humanistic point of view (showing how to deal with somebody's problem) and the quantity was from a practical point of view (providing enough data for the research). Apart from presenting a rich area to study politeness in, the latter also spawned a socio-linguistically interesting question: Why do Turkish speakers talk so much about their troubles?

iv) In the Turkish culture making complaints has a special place. Some of the prominent examples from the Ottoman Literature are Sikayetname's (complaints in writing) written by literary personalities and usually for the attention of the Royal Palace. The most famous of these is Sikayetname by the

Turkish poet, Fuzuli (1495-1556) written to Nishanci Pasha of the Royal Office. O.S. Gokyay (1974) reports that Fuzuli wrote this when he did not receive his salary from the Wakf (Pious Foundation) and used an 'affectatiously touching and sour language in picturing his own poverty as well as that of the civil servants of the day' (p. 19). A more up-to-date Sikayetname depicts the small problems of a modern man in a more light-hearted way:

What is this ordeal I have to go through!
 I don't like mathematics,
 I am a clerk in an accounts office.
 My favourite dish is 'imambayildi',
 It upsets my stomach.
 I know a girl with freckles,
 I love her,
 She doesn't love me.

(O.R. Horozcu, 1982, p. 33)

On the spoken side, talk about troubles is one of the favourite social activities between acquaintances. In a sociological study carried out on Turkish stereotypes and social values (Tezcan, 1974) it was found that the most frequent pastime for female informants is getting together and 'talking about their troubles, and gossiping'. Both male and female informants choose 'Exchanging troubles, chatting and bidding farewell to relatives and friends' as one of the things they would like to do if they had only a short time left to live. In the same study, a chart (see Chart 1) on 'the favourite topics in conversations with friends' shows that out of 200 university students who underwent the experiment, 30.4% of female students indicated personal problems as their favourite conversational subject while 37% of female went for problems relating to students and the young generation; the latter also proved to be very popular among male students (26.6%) while personal problems shared the third place together with scientific subjects (the second being home politics).

As compared to troubles-telling in English, the number of dert (trouble) based phrasal verb entries in Turkish dictionaries is remarkably high, a fact which may stand as an indication of the uninhibited nature of this verbal activity:

- derdini acmak: to confide one's troubles to
- derdini dokmek: to pour out one's troubles
- derdine dusmek: to be deeply occupied with a trouble
- derdine yanmak: to feel sorry for oneself
- derdini yanmak: to complain
- dertlesmek: to have a heart to heart talk with someone
- dert etmek: to occupy oneself with a worrisome problem

(New Redhouse Dictionary: Turkish-English 1968)

This seems compatible with the Turkish indulgence in sadness. As an outside observer to Turkey, Hotham (1972) draws the contrast in the approach to pathos between the western culture and the Turkish one and says:

'Basically it seems to me, the Turk is a romantic dreamer, though of what he is dreaming, it is hard to say. He also loves to indulge in sadness and gloomy forebodings... Most Turkish songs are sad songs'.

(p. 128)

In spite of this

'When they are having a party, at the stage in the evening where even the English would be singing, Turks recite poetry. They do not generally present so broadly-smiling a face to the world as do some of their neighbours'.

(Lewis, 1974, p. 237)

CHAPTER 1

Topics in Conversation with Friends

| Sex | Female | | Male | | Total |
|--|--------|------|------|------|-------|
| Conversational Topics | Ind. | % | Ind. | % | Ind. |
| Personal Problems | 14 | 30.4 | 23 | 14.9 | 37 |
| Scientific Subjects | 2 | 4.3 | 23 | 14.9 | 25 |
| Arts and Literature | 4 | 8.7 | 5 | 3.2 | 9 |
| Home Politics | 5 | 10.9 | 39 | 25.3 | 44 |
| Overseas Politics | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1.9 | 3 |
| University matters | 4 | 8.7 | 6 | 3.9 | 10 |
| Problems relating to students and young generation | 17 | 37 | 41 | 26.6 | 58 |
| Sports | 0 | 0 | 11 | 7.1 | 11 |
| Other | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1.9 | 3 |
| Total | 46 | | 154 | | 200 |

Tezcan, 1974, p. 338

Even Turkish humour can at times rest on 'troubles' as one of the popular poems of contemporary literature shows:

Epitaphs I

Nothing caused him such anguish in this world
 As did his corns
 Even the ugliness he was born with
 Was easier to bear.
 Except when his shoes hurt him
 He never uttered the name of the Lord
 Yet he could not be counted a great sinner.
 Alas for Suleyman Efendi!

(Orhan Veli Kanik in Menemencioglu, 1978)

We have tried to find reasons for the Turkish enthusiasm for troubles-telling in Anthropology, Literature and Sociology.

On the anthropological side, Tannen and Oztek (1984) propose that the concept of the 'evil eye' is very powerful in both Turkish and Greek and the mention of good events hardly ever passes without the use of some protective formula like Allah nazardan saklasin (May God protect from the evil eye). Hotham (1972) also observes that:

"One must never praise other people's property and above all not young children, without adding the saving word 'Masallah'. The forty days period of infants is felt to be so dangerous that parents will sometimes make their babies look as ugly or dirty as possible, or put clothes on back-to-front, to deceive the evil eye."

(p. 146)

This might have explained the inclination to tell sad stories rather than happy ones about the self, had it not been the case that even the tombstone of a person who is no longer in the 'range of an evil eye', may bear an epitaph mentioning his troubles, as the study in Turkish Folklore (Ornek, 1977) of such epitaphs exhibits (see Photograph 1, and also Kanik's poem cited on p.(XX):

- E1: 'I was struck by a trouble at an early age,
which was spent in vain consulting the doctors'
- E2: 'No one is to stay in this world forever
There is no cure for my incurable trouble
This cannot be faith, this is Holy Command
Inside me developed a chronic disease
The trouble was not merciful and carried me away
My children have grown - but what can be done
This cruel trouble left me with no money
As there is no hope left, I am destined to this (piece of
ground) certainly.'

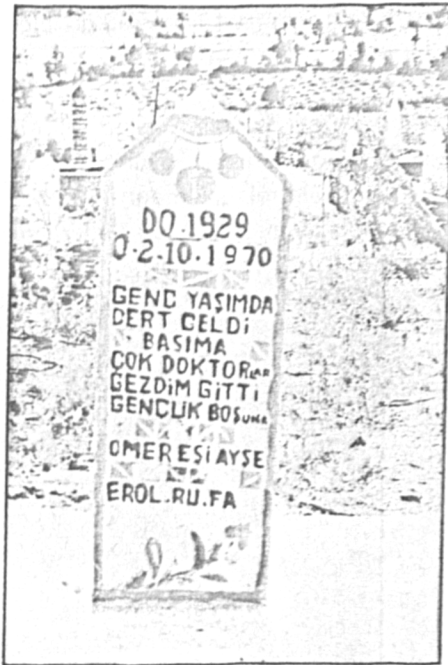
A potential part-answer is in the following piece of advice, taken from one of the greatest works of contemporary Turkish Literature, Memed My Hawk (Kemal, 1981):

"Listen, Memed, and I'll give you one or two bits of advice which you must take to heart. You're still young, but you'll grow up. God knows whether you'll stay on the mountain for a long time or not. I've had lots of dealings with brigands and I've seen the downfall of most of them. Don't get too familiar with everyone as soon as you join Durdu's band. Each one of them will want to strike up a friendship with you and they'll all try to be pleasant and kindly. They'll take a great interest in you, they'll tell you all their troubles: people are like that. But you must keep to yourself and this will help you gain prestige in their eyes. You must behave with dignity. As a brigand you must be respected by your companions. Now don't go and say to yourself: I'll get to know them all the first day and be friends with them. If they find your weak spot they'll never leave you in peace to the end of your days, and nobody will respect you."

(p. 98)

Working our way from this, we suggest that 'troubles-telling' is a sign of close relationship and intimacy. In relationships which are not so close, however, it signals the teller's efforts and desire to consolidate friendship, to grant the other a status similar to that of a 'confidant' who is allowed access to one's less known and less publicized personal preserve.

This explanation, however, brings us to another question, especially in view of the frequency and the unrestricted nature of troubles-telling in our data: do Turkish speakers not differentiate between intimate relationships like those of family members or extremely close friends who should have no



E.1



E.2

Photograph 1

(Örnek, 1977, p. 208)

inhibitions in disclosing troubles to one another, and the less informal ones like those of 'friends, relatives, and neighbours' who should be more selective in self-exposure? To explain why in the circle of the community the confidentiality is broken freely as if it is the 'family' circle, we need to refer to sociological work done on the social structure and human relations in Turkey.

The structure of traditional Turkish society is based on status, and respect is directed to the holders of it. In the areas of community, kinship and family, respect is extended to holders of established positions. 'In the family it is the father. In the rural community, age, land ownership, material wealth, and family descent are important sources of power, status and prestige' (Kagitcibasi, 1982, p. 9).

It is possible to observe the distinction based on status in the sex roles as well. The values associated with these roles are commented on by Levine (1982) in this way:

"Men are expected to be masculine and virile. They are expected to be strong and powerful, unafraid of anything, active, independent, unemotional, intelligent, and interested in things, not people..... Women, on the other hand, are expected to demonstrate the opposite of these states, weakness, passivity, helplessness, submissiveness, dependency, emotional expressiveness, nurturing, clever but not too intelligent, and interested in people, not things."

(p. 337)

The expectations from these sex roles are described by Fisek (1982):

"The women's arena is the home, domestic labor and child care, while the man deals with the external world and there is little opportunity for role-sharing."

(p.297)

The values and expectations that are associated with the sex status and roles lead to an estrangement between the spouses. Again quoting from Fisek (1982):

"If we consider that much of the communication between spouses revolves around negotiations of role sharing and allocation of responsibilities, i.e. defining the relationship and the position of the spouses in that relationship, we should not be very surprised at the relative lack of communication in a traditional Turkish family. The social and cultural norms regulating role allocation and spheres of functioning for the spouses are usually so delineated by clear enough boundaries, which are consensually accepted, that there isn't much need for negotiation."

(p. 299)

In this respect, Olson (1982) sees the Turkish family as having a 'Traditional structure', in contrast to a 'Modern structure' in which 'husband and wife have an egalitarian relationship, characterized by a high degree of communication and companionship between spouses and by joint decision-making' (p. 34).

The lack of companionship between the spouses leads them in different directions. Men tend to go to coffee-houses in the villages, and to bars, clubs, restaurants, Turkish baths and now saunas in the cities to socialize. Women tend to affiliate themselves with their children but more so with their sons:

"A close relationship is to be expected to some degree in a traditional society since the son starts conferring status on his mother beginning with his birth. Add to this the fact that husband and wife are not allowed much open expression of emotional closeness, and it is then natural for the house-bound wife to seek closeness with her children, and mainly her more valuable son."

(Fisek, 1982, p. 301)

However, this inclination is not returned equally by the children. While the daughter stays with the mother and socializes in her circle from the day she is born until she gets married, except on the occasion of going to school, the son tends to do otherwise:

"When a son is so highly valued, and brings so much to his mother, it is only natural that he is given much love, protection and indulgence by her. Thus, observers note that the mother's relationship with her son is intimate and affectionate, in contrast with that of the father, who is stern... However, even though for the woman the mother-son relationship is of greatest value, for the man the relationship to his

agnates - to his father and brothers - is more important, this lack of symmetry reflecting the inferior status of women."

(Kagitcibasi, 1982, p. 12)

While both the son and the husband are more male oriented, because of the authority the latter holds they are not at ease in each other's company either:

"A boy must show *rather formal respect towards his father in most families*, which limits the development of intimacy between them. Further, when a boy becomes a *delikanli* (literally, one with mad blood, but used to refer to all boys in their teens, and early twenties) it is assumed that he will want to play cards, smoke, drink, talk loudly, laugh, etc. and it is disrespectful for him to do any of these in his father's presence. Therefore, he and his father must socialize separately or both will be highly uncomfortable."

(Olson, 1982, p. 51)

Thus, all members of the family are driven in different directions. The wider family offers the opportunity of an alternative network for individuals to establish inter-personal relations, as well as providing 'material support when needed' and serving 'an important function of security in times of crisis and conflict' (Kagitcibasi, 1982, p. 5). However, even the wider family is not very reliable:

"If due to mobility, the kin are dispersed, the kinship ties weaken, the neighbourhood may assume greater importance as a support system. As family extends into kin, so kinship extends into neighbourhood and community in terms of a network of bonds, involving duties, responsibilities, common concerns, support and help. In the face-to-face interpersonal relations of the small community, everybody is a 'significant other' and nobody can be ignored, thus other-directed behaviour tendencies develop from childhood on".

(Kagitcibasi, 1982, p. 8)

Both in urban and rural areas long-term neighbours within the same mahalle (district consisting of about 10-50 houses) are regarded as being 'like relatives' and they exchange gossip, advice, food, assistance (Olson, 1982, p. 46) Magnarella (1974) notes that kinship terms are used among the members

of the neighbourhood and sexual relations are looked upon as acts of incest.

Additionally, Olson (1982) reports that

"Even immigrants to larger urban centres in Turkey tend to establish neighbourhoods which are as homogeneous as possible, whether in terms of family and lineage, village, town, or even region if no closer identity is possible."

(p 47)

In this way, these networks become outlets for personal worries which are suppressed between spouses and parents/children. Friendship becomes more important than having family ties. Magnarella (1974) notes that 'true friends are loyal confidants, they share each others' joys, sorrows, and material possessions' (p. 168).

When children get married, they continue holding their personal networks separately rather than converging them into their spouses's:

"Marriage is not... likely to involve a unitary, highly 'joint' relationship in which the spouses look to each other as a primary source of advice, companionship, emotional support, and entertainment as they do in the ideal 'western' relationship. Rather, to satisfy these needs, they continue to rely on the members of their own primarily uni-sexual social networks as they did before marriage."

(Olson, 1982, p. 62)

Although we have so far mainly quoted from authors of sociological background to emphasize the importance of these networks in Turkey, and the reasons why these substitute the western type of intimate family ties, it is not intended to give the impression that men and women in the Turkish culture never socialize together. As Olson (1982) observes:

"During the weekend or on a weeknight, urban couples occasionally joined friends or relatives in someone's home, or at a pastahane (French style coffee houses), a theatre, a park, etc. Urban couples with children are particularly likely to be found in family parks on

weekend afternoons, often in a larger group including friends, neighbours and/or relatives."

(p 56)

Our examples, too, are drawn from mixed sex contexts and the social distance between the participants varies as much as it can vary between 'friends, neighbours, and relatives'.

v) Finally, a note on rights and obligations in telling and receiving troubles.

The issue is apparent in an utterance taken from Sacks (LN, 17 April, 1968). One speaker says to the other: 'Well, I thought I'd better report to you what's happened at Bullocks's today', and then lists the mishaps encountered in front of the store. The choice of the term 'I'd better' is rather significant here, and cannot be dismissed as irrelevant or accidental. Why 'I'd better'? The formulation is such that the reporter is expecting the opposite of 'better' to happen in case she withholds the reporting. Rather than creating an undesirable situation, the speaker prefers to make the announcement.

Although not all reportings have this element spelled out as clearly as in this example, it is reasonable to assume that in any type of reporting, the decision taken in favour of reporting the facts instead of withholding them is under the influence of the speaker's evaluation of rights and obligations. On this point Watson (1987) also says:

"Persons owning problems might... be seen as having certain rights and obligations concerning those problems - rights such as, for instance, that of deciding whether to disclose the problem or not, also rights concerning knowledge and definition of the problem, and obligations such as the obligation not to 'saddle' certain persons with the problem. The nature and relevance of these rights and obligations is, again, contingent on the nature of the problems... (and) who is approached for help."

(p. 277-8)

Obviously such considerations hold for Turkish speakers as well and we will conclude with a few words on their rights and obligations in troubles-telling in order to throw some light on the matter. It must be noted, however, that these rights and obligations are highly context specific, as Watson puts it. Furthermore, in any given context, there are no explicit guidelines to show why this speaker has decided to disclose the problem to this recipient, and why he has limited it to these words. In view of this fact, our explanations here should be read as some general observations and intuitions of a native speaker, backed by data only to a minor extent.

Rights in troubles-telling seem to be closely connected with the expectations of the teller, who may be anticipating an active contribution from the recipient like help or advice, or a passive contribution in some form of sympathy.³ With these expectations, the decision on how to find the right kind of audience for a trouble, or the right kind of trouble for the audience probably depends on whether or not the teller evaluates the recipient's competence in dealing with the specific trouble superior to his own. Superior competence, then, is the recipient's expertise through which an active contribution is possible. One of the important factors in deciding the recipient's superiority is his maturity of age. In the villages, for example, the oldest villager is always the one approached for advice on account of his 'worldly wisdom and experience'. In the cities, as well as age, the recipient's education, profession, and experience in dealing with the trouble may be taken into account. There is also a tacit understanding that people who are brought up in the cities are more knowledgeable on worldly matters than those from small towns or villages.

So long as the trouble falls into the area of expertise, the teller has the right to report it and the recipient has the obligation to make an active contribution. For example, in one case the teller was a mother who was having difficulties in finding the right kind of school for her rebellious son

and the recipient was an educationalist. The response to the trouble appeared, as must have been expected by the teller, in the form of a suggestion of a number of schools that could be approached. In this context the recipient could not have evaded his responsibility as an expert by producing nothing but sympathy. The only way that he could withhold help would have been by disclaiming expertise on this specific point, and by saying, for instance, that he was better qualified at the higher education level and not the secondary school one.

Trouble is not always announced in the expectation of the recipient's active contribution, especially when his expertise in the trouble is not mutually known with the teller, although the recipient may misjudge the teller's expectations and may feel himself qualified enough to make suggestions. As these suggestions are usually turned down by the teller (see Ch. 4), it is clear that in contexts such as the ones we have worked in, troubles are generally disclosed to receive sympathy and understanding.

In situations where the speakers judge one another's expertise equal and therefore expect from and give to one another only sympathy and understanding, both speakers have the right to be a troubles-teller and the problems disclosed can be anything 'innocent' ranging from the husband's smoking habits to a broken washing machine, from the son's disappointing examination results, to ill-equipped holiday accommodation. The rights in telling troubles are usually justified on account of the intimacy that is being established or has already been established between the speakers.

Intuitively speaking, the severity of the trouble is possibly proportionate with the extent of the intimacy. In other words, the more shame a trouble can cause its owner, the more intimate ground the speakers should stand on. Intimacy is usually judged by the frequency of past encounters, the duration of the relationship, the amount of shared experiences, whether or not the relationship has continued as a result of the

speakers' free-will or from obligation (i.e. friends from the same office, the same hair dresser, the same cookery club), whether it is a direct relationship or an indirect one (i.e. one's own friend as compared to the spouse's friend), whether or not it is due to a blood tie, etc. So, extremely shameful troubles, like the spouse leaving with another partner, daughter having an affair before marriage, son marrying a non-muslim girl, sexual disorders, troubles caused by one's own fault or illegal activities, etc. are saved for the most intimate co-conversationalists. The chances are that some troubles may never find recipients and have to be borne with for a life time.

It can be said that as the intimacy increases between the teller and the recipient, the rights in telling and receiving troubles gradually turn into obligations. One speaker who was criticised by her son for complaining non-stop, reminded him of his obligations to listen, 'Who am I going to tell my troubles to if I cannot tell you?'. It is possibly to evade the criticism for the opposite, i.e. for not reporting the trouble, that some of these troubles are disclosed.⁴ In such special relationships the teller who fails to disclose a problem can later be rebuked, 'I am your mother, you should have told me', or 'I thought we were close friends, why didn't you tell me?'.

Despite the absence of strict expertise in this type of troubles-announcement, if it is 'understanding' that the teller is seeking, there still must be some 'regulation on information exchange' as Sacks puts it (1975b, p. 71), so that what is complained about by the teller should be complainable for the recipient also.⁵ One case demonstrated the ill-effects of not taking this point into account when the teller complained about her dress maker charging unreasonably high fees for the simple work she does. The recipient, however, being skillful in needlework herself, was not dependent on commercial services. In response, therefore, instead of showing sympathy or understanding, she disclosed her surprise at those who go to dressmakers and pay such amounts unnecessarily. As by the nature of her trouble, the teller

was in this category, she then started a defence of the group that she belonged to, 'You can make things for yourself, good or bad, but if you couldn't sew, what would you do?'. To avoid this, tellers presumably make sure that their trouble matches the recipient's background, so that marital problems are mentioned to friends who are married themselves, sibling problems are told to parents, professional problems are shared with other professionals and not, for instance, with housewives. In short, in Turkish troubles-telling the recipient's 'categorical membership' is an important factor (see Schegloff, 1972b; Sacks, 1975b).

It is to such characteristics of Turkish culture and to those who practise its patterns that we owe any contribution we may be fortunate enough to make with this study to the understanding of conversational interaction.

NOTES

1. A pair of utterances, usually produced by different speakers and placed adjacent to one another although there may be other pairs inserted in between the parts (Schegloff, 1972a; Jefferson, 1972). The parts of the pair are inter-related in such a way that when the first part appears the second part becomes conditionally relevant and the absence of it is noticed.

2. In Sociolinguistics the works which are known to us are: Dundes, Leech and Ozkok (1972) on Turkish verbal duelling, Kral (1975) on address forms, and Tannen and Oztek (1981) on formulaic expressions, and none are to do with the conversational organisation of Turkish.

3. 'Active' is used here to refer to the contributory potential of advice and help which, if accepted and utilized, can change the course of the trouble. This is in contrast to the 'passive' nature of sympathy and understanding which have no effects on the troublesome situation.

4. Not announcing the news at the right time may create an offence which has to be remedied by apologies. An example of this in English is:

- B: I saw you with your uh filling out a thing for the U. of-bookstore. Does that mean you're going there?
 A: Oh yes. Sorry. I didn't know i hadn't told you.
 B: Well, oh you never tell me anything. When well//
 A: Well I tell you if I talk to you when something has just happened.
 B: I su-ppose
 A: But I don't always remember how long it's been since I've seen people.

(Schegloff and Sacks, 1975, p. 245).

5. Sharrock and Turner (1978) use the term shared indignation for this.

CHAPTER 1: POLITENESS

1.0 Introduction

Politeness has mainly been approached up till now as if it is something static, capturable in the grammatical characteristics of a single utterance, the prime example being in Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987). This approach, although producing invaluable information, is inadequate to account for politeness operating over sequences in conversation. The purpose of the present Chapter is to lay out a theoretical basis from a wider perspective which would be able to handle the dynamic aspects of politeness.

Using politeness phenomena to explain troubles-talk may seem rather irrelevant at first glance. We propose that politeness is the key factor in understanding some of the complexities of this type of talk; but leaving the link between the two to be explored at the end of this Chapter, we first would like to set up a new framework of politeness, and as we go along, check its validity against the conversational facts that have been accumulated in the field of Conversational Analysis.

It is not an easy task to formulate politeness, and definitions of it are often grossly inadequate statements.¹ It is only when the attention is directed to the reasons for politeness rather than what politeness is that such attempts do better justice to the concept. Lakoff (1973), for instance, concentrates on its supportive features and says that politeness is for 'reaffirming and strengthening relationships' (p. 298). Leech (1977) goes for the protective side of politeness and proposes that it is used to 'avoid strategic conflict' (p. 19). For Kochman (1984), too, politeness has a protective mission which is exercised in the show of consideration for other people:

"Polite conversation is... a way of showing consideration for other people's feelings, that is, not saying or doing anything that might unduly excite or arouse. The 'gentleman's agreement' (though hardly confined to adult males) is and was 'You don't do or say anything that might arouse my feelings, and I won't do or say anything that might arouse yours'... Ultimately and essentially, then, mainstream consideration is a form of protection, not really of feelings, but rather of sensibilities "

(p. 204)

These definitions portray politeness as a form of behaviour which is exercised so that the relationship between individuals can be consolidated, or at least, can be kept undamaged. In this sense, politeness is taken as warding off any damage to the relationship. However, there are also occasions where damage is unavoidable and when this is the case, individuals either try to keep it to the minimum or make a subsequent attempt to rectify it. It will be incomplete if a framework of politeness does not cover these aspects as well. In order to explore politeness on a wider scale, we need to start with the works of Goffman (1971, 1972) and Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) for whom the entity to be guarded is 'face'.

1.1 Goffman: Face-work

The most notable feature of Goffman's work in general is the emphasis he puts on the constitutive role of social forms. According to Goffman (1971), social order is maintained if each individual is respectful to others' as much as he is to his own rights. A successful member is defined as being sensitive to his own territory - personal space - yet not expansionistic into others', which can be simplified to the example of 'the bar used in supermarket checkout counters to separate one customer's batch of articles from the next' (p. 42).

Being part of a society places impositions on any member, who can no longer act as an independent individual. 'Almost all acts involving others are modified' (1972, p. 13) in the sense that a person, unintentionally or intentionally, makes known to those he is in contact with how he values himself, the others, and the transaction which the contact is about, by taking and exhibiting a certain line. This line is under the influence of the positive values which prevail in his society and is aimed at projecting the best image of himself that the current transaction can allow. Image formation is derived by Goffman (1972) from the old Chinese concept of claiming and sustaining a 'sacred face':

"the term face may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes - albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself."

(p.5)

In newly formed contacts the individual engages in establishing an image for himself. In continued contacts he engages in sustaining and improving the face he has encouraged the others to develop for him. In this way, the individual appears to be the embodiment of two entities, one as the face accumulated over past undertakings, and the other as the actor who manipulates the accumulation and safeguarding of the former. Goffman (1972) rests this duality on the analogy of 'the value of a hand drawn at cards, and the capacity of the person who plays it. This distinction must be kept in mind, even though it appears that once a person has gotten a reputation for good or bad play this reputation may become part of the face he must later play at maintaining.' (p. 32). As the face continues to be built upon in each encounter, in contacts which are not likely to carry on, a person can be said to be more at ease as compared to those situations where the

others he is dealing with at present are likely to continue to confront him in future. The choice of taking a certain line while dealing with a current issue will not only have consequences for the face that a person has so far claimed for himself, the same act will have consequences for the future of one's face.

But things may turn out to be other than has been intended and an encounter may not help a particular individual to keep up his face. This will have serious consequences for all the parties involved, but it is this individual who will be worst hit:

"... while his social face can be his most personal possession and the centre of his security and pleasure, it is only on loan to him from society, it will be withdrawn unless he conducts himself in a way that is worthy of it."

(1972, p. 10)

There may be several reasons why a person wants to sustain his face. He may have become attached to the values on which this face has been built, he may be enjoying the results and the power that this face has created for him, he may be nursing higher social aspirations for which he will need his face, etc.

In the event of damaged face the individual will feel embarrassed for letting his face get 'tainted', he will also feel bad for letting others down in their efforts to form an admirable image for him. Additionally, the others will be in a quandary when they realize that the actions and words that they have prepared for him or for their transactions with him are no longer usable.

In the case of damaged face a person can adopt poise and suppress and conceal signs of embarrassment like faltering, collapsing and crumbling, but even if a successful poise is staged, there is also the danger of being labelled negatively; the others may assume that he does not care about the damage done to his face, and they may call him 'shameless'.

Rather than exhibiting poise after a face damaging act, it is better to use avoidance tactics like staying clear of dangerous places and company, getting out of situations in time if a threat becomes a probability, keeping away from sensitive topics and activities in conversation, etc.

Building and maintaining face is not a solo performance, others work towards it as much as the individual:

"In our Anglo American society, as in some others, the phrase 'to lose face' seems to mean to be in wrong face, to be out of face, or to be shamefaced. The phrase 'to save one's face' appears to refer to the process by which the person sustains an impression for others that he has not lost face. Following Chinese usage, one can say that 'to give face' is to arrange for another to take a better line than he might otherwise have been able to take, the other thereby gets face given him, this being one way in which he can gain face."

(p. 9)

While the individual is absorbed in developing and maintaining his face, the others have also similar considerations for themselves. One way of ensuring the maintenance of their own face is to keep everybody's face undamaged. In a way, the participants during interaction work on the understanding that one will respect the other's face as long as the other respects his. Each participant, therefore, has to make sure that in his efforts to keep his own face, he does not in any way damage the other's. This is why people are ready to turn a blind eye to a faux pas, and to pretend that they have not noticed a potential piece of damage to face. They are also ready to present opposition when the individual decides to do an injustice to himself. This gives the individual a licence to belittle or down-grade himself in the assurance that the others will not take his word seriously and will be contributing to his image building better than he himself can or is allowed to do. Indeed, when an actor belittles himself, he only does damage to his capacity as a player, his sacred self is not vulnerable. The rules of the game allow him to be mistreated at his own hands but not at others'.

If accidents occur which will jeopardise face, Goffman says that the impaired equilibrium has to be put right again at the earliest opportunity. This is the second best in the preservation of face, the best being to be alert at all times so that there will not be a face threatening act for anybody. Politeness, therefore, is seen to be functioning:

1. before any damage to the face occurs and in an effort to prevent the damage from occurring, and
2. after damage to the face occurs and in an effort to wipe away its effects.²

As is obvious from the above, Goffman's notion of face-work covers the participants' efforts in preserving and saving face, corresponding to (1) and (2) respectively. However, it does not say much about the stage in between these two, that is, how face can be maintained while damage is occurring. This gap is closed by Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies which, apart from preserving face, also include reducing the impact of the offence at the time of committing it.

1.2 Brown and Levinson: Politeness Strategies

Basing their theory on the face work described by Goffman, Brown and Levinson have dealt with politeness phenomena in the most detailed study to date (1978, 1987).

The centre of attention is again the individual whose needs and wants run in two different and sometimes conflicting dimensions. On the one hand, he is an independent person who wants to preserve his sphere of privacy and personal preserves intact, and to protect his freedom of movement and speech unimpeded by others. On the other hand, he enjoys contributing to the social world that surrounds him, likes to be thought of as a participating

member, and hopes that his attributes are desirable to or appreciated by at least some others.³ These two types of wants give the individual a double face:

"Negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction - i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition

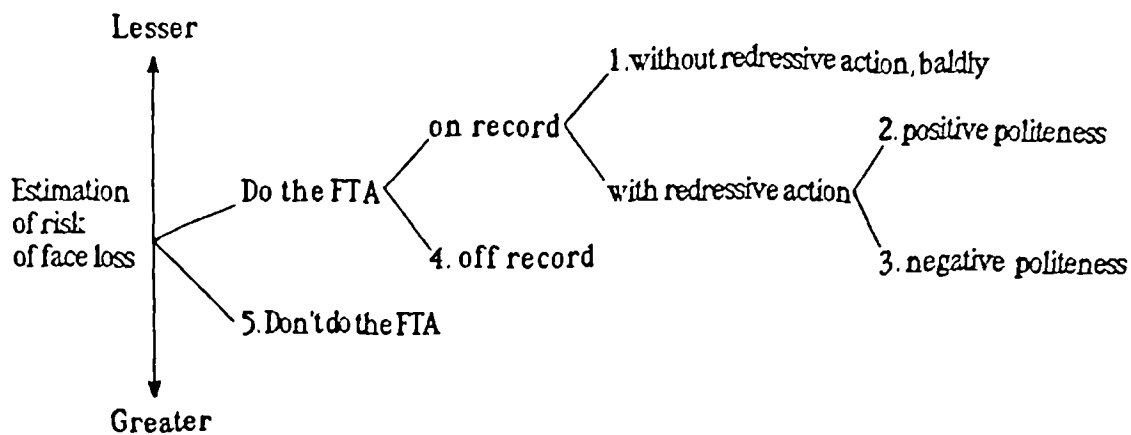
Positive face : the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by participants"

(1987, p. 61)

As all individuals are endowed with the same face wants, during interaction each will use his reason to ensure that he satisfies the face wants of the other, while at the same time making sure that this satisfaction does not in any way clash with his own interests.

Interaction is produced by the execution and receipt of acts, some verbal, some non-verbal. Brown and Levinson (1987) say that 'certain kinds of acts intrinsically threaten face, namely those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker' (p. 65). However, among these acts some are more dangerous for the relationship of the speakers than others. The uneven distribution of threat is evident in the distinction between, say, requesting a minor service, and making a criticism. Under normal circumstances, that is, provided that one does not want to threaten the other's face on purpose, reason will dictate that the impact of an FTA be softened. The more threatening an act is considered by the speaker, the more care he will take in its execution. Brown and Levinson list 5 categories of politeness strategies, offering an increasing degree of security, complementary with the increasing degree of risk that one is taking in doing the FTA:

Circumstances determining choice of strategy:



Possible Strategies for committing FTAs

Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 69)

1.2.1 Categories of Politeness Strategies and what they achieve in speech

Bald on Record is the most straight-forward and the least complicated vehicle for a communicative act. Thus, a speaker choosing the bald-on-record strategy for a directive can use 'Do X' in the undiluted form, 'Give me just one more week!' (to pay the rent) (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 96).

Positive Politeness is used when S decides to show H that his (H's) wants, actions, possessions, values, etc. are appreciated and desired, 'Goodness, you cut your hair! (...) By the way, I came to borrow some flour' (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 103). This again is a strategy which does not involve severe redress as the message conveys S's desire to strengthen solidarity.

Sub-categories of the strategy underline the in-groupness of and the 'accord' between the speakers. Thus, use of jargons, familiar address terms,

adjectives of extremity, ellipsis, jokes is common while contradictions, disagreements, controversial topics are avoided.

When H's privacy and rights as a free person are in jeopardy, the gravity of the imposition increases considerably, so do the risks in committing an FTA. In cases like this, the third strategy, Negative Politeness, offers protection. There are two issues under consideration here. Firstly, S knows that, by putting pressure on H, he is not respecting H's rights, and thus some sort of redress is necessary. However, by wasting time with extra components of politeness added to the bald-on-record form, S is additionally prolonging the offence. Brown and Levinson (1978) suggest that the outcome of these conflicting considerations is a compromise between 'being direct' and 'being indirect', thus satisfying both of them partially. The answer lies in conventionalized indirectness, in 'the use of phrases and sentences that have contextually unambiguous meanings (by virtue of conventionalization) which are different from their literal meanings. In this way, the utterance goes on record, and the speaker indicates his desire to have gone off-record (to have conveyed the same thing indirectly)' (p. 137). 'Can you pass the salt?' is an example: it questions one of the felicity conditions of the speech act of requesting and thus qualifies as indirectness (Searle, 1975) yet it is so conventionalized as a request for service that it does not function literally except in very special circumstances.

Apart from conventionalized indirectness there are also other substrategies within the framework of negative politeness to minimize the impact of the infringement. Hypothesizing in a pessimistic mood (for example, while questioning the possibility of a loan, 'There would be no possibility of me borrowing your car, I suppose') or apologizing for doing an FTA at the time of doing it, (e.g. 'Sorry for being a nuisance but...') or using one of the deferential address forms (like 'Sir' in English, or 'Esamaanka' Lord in Tamil) and thus giving a momentary superiority to H are some of the few.

The fourth strategy, Off-Record, depends more on the listener's power of inference. In the words of the authors:

"A communicative act is done off-record if it is done in such a way that it is not possible to attribute only one clear communicative intention to the act. In other words, the actor leaves himself an 'out' by providing himself with a number of defensible interpretations; he cannot be held to have committed oneself to just one particular interpretation of his act. Thus, if a speaker wants to avoid the responsibility for doing it, he can do it off-record and leave it up to the addressee to decide how to interpret it."

(1987, p. 211)

Silence, as the fifth strategy, is adopted when the FTA is too dangerous to commit. 'Better not said than be sorry' is the understanding behind it.

1.3 Politeness and CA Findings

The works of Goffman, and Brown and Levinson jointly present a framework with three dimensions which are:

1. avoiding FTAs
2. reducing the impact of FTAs, and
3. recovering from the consequences of FTAs.⁴

As mentioned before, Goffman does not cover (2). On the other hand, in Brown and Levinson's theory, because they study how 'to avoid face-threatening acts' and how 'to minimize the threat' (1987, p. 68), (1) and (2) of above list are dealt with extensively but there is little mention of the aftermaths of FTAs. However, when all three aspects of politeness are put together, as is done here, we propose that it will relate better to conversation than Goffman's Facework or Brown and Levinson's Strategies do singly, and will account for the dynamic relationship that utterances have with their immediate past and future, a pre-requisite of interaction.

Our search for evidence in the literature of the operation of politeness in these dimensions has been rewarding. To start with, the extensive work carried out on pre-sequence types (Merritt, 1976; Levinson, 1983; Teresaki, 1976; Atkinson and Drew, 1979) has been found to support (1) above, i.e. the avoidance of FTAs:

"that term ('pre-sequence') is used to collect a variety of turn types which initiate a sequence understood to be specifically preliminary to a later turn or sequence, one which will be placed in the pre-sequence speaker's next turn or not, depending on what is placed in the turn following the pre-sequence."

(Schegloff, 1979, p. 49)

Apart from Heritage (forthcoming), Brown and Levinson (1987) also build the connection between pre-sequences and face considerations and say that

"Pre-sequences . . . allow the off-record negotiation of business with face implications well in advance of the possible on-record transaction."

(p. 40)

In other words, the pre-sequence is used to check and make sure that there are no dangers on the path that the speaker is about to take and that the prospective act will not cause any embarrassment eventually. A pre-sequence type that specifically interests us here is the one with which the speaker finds out in advance if the addressee will be forced to make a face-damaging confession of ignorance about a referent later on. We will return to a similar sequence type in Sec. 1.5.1:

A: D'ya know where the Triboro Bridge is?
 B: Yeah
 A: Well make a right there...

and

- A: Well tell me, do you - does the name Charles Weidman mean anything to you?
 B: Well, I should say so.

(Schegloff, 1972b, p. 111)

If lack of knowledge is revealed at the stage of a pre-sequence, the attributes of the mentionable can be incorporated into the following speech in an inconspicuous way:

- A: Do you know George Smith?⁵
 B: No.
 A: Well, he's an artist, and he says...

(Schegloff, 1972b, p. 111)

However, if ignorance about a referent is disclosed at a later stage, and this becomes too obvious for any of the parties to ignore, then some accounting may become appropriate to save face (see also analysis of error-correction in Sec. 1.5.1, and the extensive piece of datum in Schegloff, 1972b, pp. 114-5).

As for the second and third stages of politeness, adequate material has been found in the CA literature, but when these pieces are put together, a system which holds them has emerged unexpectedly. We will call this 'Interactional Imbalance', borrowing the term from Goffman, but using it for a larger mechanism of face-work (see Sec. 1.4 below). This system is discovered to account for politeness in conversational turns better than the merely-FTA-based approach does, although FTAs are still a part of it. In this respect, it is appropriate to call 'Interactional Imbalance' an improvement on FTAs rather than a contradictory approach. To be able to describe it convincingly, however, we shall not follow the temporal indication given above. In other words, we will not be tracing politeness in the order of 'before', 'during', and 'after' FTAs, but will use item (3) in the definition of the system (Sec. 1.4), and then (2) in developing it further (Sec. 1.5). Because these sections will be

developed through examples of a variety of speech actions, all the findings will then be tested on a single sequence type: error-correction (Sec. 1.5.1).

1.4 Interactional Imbalance

The concept of Interactional Imbalance was first put into words as follows:

"When the participants in an undertaking or encounter fail to prevent the occurrence of an event that is expressively incompatible with the judgements of social worth that are being maintained, and when the event is of the kind that is difficult to overlook, then the participants are likely to give it accredited status as an incident - to ratify it as a threat that deserves direct official attention - and to proceed to try to correct for its effects. At this point one or more participants find themselves in an established state of ritual disequilibrium or disgrace, and an attempt must be made to re-establish a satisfactory ritual state for them."

(Goffman, 1972, p. 19)

Goffman's general concept of 'correcting the disequilibrium' provides inspiration for Brown and Levinson in their earlier version of 'Politeness Phenomena' (1978), although theirs seems to be pointing to a more specific area:

"If a breach of face respect occurs, this constitutes a kind of debt that must be made up by positive reparation if the original level of face respect is to be maintained. Reparation should be of an appropriate kind and paid in a degree proportionate to the breach. This principle should follow from the original assumptions of our model in just those circumstances where participants have adequate motives for caring for each other's face. Thus, if A does something that damages B's face (or his assets, and thus indirectly his face), B has the right to demand reparation for A's act, and A must then provide this in adequate proportion, and B must accept it. For instance, if A treads on B's toe, B has the right to complain, A the obligation to apologize, and B (if the apologies are adequate) the obligation to accept them."

(p. 241)

Brown and Levinson here deal specifically with one speaker offending the other's face, and the other reacting to the offence. In her examination of

'apologies' a similar approach is taken by Owen (1983) who builds her concept of interactional imbalance on the 'offender/victim' distinction, although she looks at the 'offence' (which precipitates an apology) in a different way:

"Our concept of imbalance is... designed to focus on the state existing between the participants rather than on the source of the problem. The individual who has committed an interactional offence need feel no debt to his victim other than appropriate remedial activity."

(p. 167)

Owen's main opposition to Brown and Levinson's description stems from the nature and the extent of reparation the latter seem to equate with imbalance correction. Owen proposes that if the reparation were exactly to do with the proportions of the breach (i.e. how hard one has stepped on the other's toe), in the cases of adequacy misjudgements (i.e. apologizing more or less than necessary) the overdoing of reparation would in turn create a second imbalance which would have to be repaired, thus producing a recycling of the activities, only in the opposite direction. On the other hand, such a model will predict, Owen says, that a reparatory activity 'that exactly matches the offence in value will not receive a response, and this does not seem to be supported by real-life material' (p. 167). So

"Our focus on imbalance... will lead us to predict strategies for the use of the offender which cannot be seen in terms of compensatory 'payment', the need is rather for the victim to act so as to 'wipe the slate clean', as if the offence had never happened."

(p. 168)

Although Owen liberates the reparatory activities from the dominance of the exact nature and size of the breach, and correlates them more with the imbalanced 'state existing between the participants', which should be put right, it is obvious that she, too, takes interactional imbalance to mean 'A doing something to damage B's face'. But, if, as Goffman says, interactional

imbalance is created by 'an occurrence of an event that is expressively incompatible with the judgements of social worth that are being maintained', surely within the notion of interactional imbalance, there needs to be a place for the cases where A's own face is jeopardized as well, especially as we know that these will have simultaneous repercussions for the face of B.

Let us for this reason start with a concept of 'ideal balance' in conversation. This refers to the state of established face values for both speakers. It is necessary to include in this framework the notion of FTAs, which are defined by Brown and Levinson as running 'contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or speaker. Additionally, there is a need for a new concept, 'face boosting acts' (FBAs) which satisfy the face wants of the addressee and/or speaker. Some examples of this type of act can be found in Goffman's (1971) 'Supportive moves'.⁶ These FTAs and FBAs are thought to be intrinsic to particular activities but having effects of different gravity depending on the context of those activities. With this background, we can now devise a list of situations where the face values of the speakers are changed:

1. Boosting the face of self: FBA/self
2. Threatening the face of self: FTA/self
3. Boosting the face of other: FBA/other
4. Threatening the face of other: FTA/other

These changes can be observed respectively in the following activities:

1. Boasting⁷
2. Self-degradation
3. Compliments
4. Accusations/criticisms

If we take 'boasting' as an example, with the speaker's claim to positive social attributes, his face values will be boosted (FBA/self) while those of the addressee's will remain unchanged. In self-degradations, on the other hand,

with the speaker's denial of such social attributes, his face values will be damaged (FTA/self) while, again, the addressee's will stay the same.

It must be put on record here that because of the nature of our data, we are interested in acts which satisfy or run contrary to the positive face wants of the speaker/addressee. Although positive and negative face wants are opposite to one another (i.e. one is to do with sociability and the other with aloofness), it does not follow from this that what ignores positive face wants is satisfactory for negative face. For example, accusation does not show appreciation or approval of the image demonstrated by the addressee and, therefore, is damaging for his positive face, but accusation does not satisfy the addressee's negative face wants either. The acts which boost or damage negative face are of a different category and seem to be connected to impositions rather than to established social attributes. For this reason, it is not claimed that the new framework which we are trying to develop here is exhaustive of all conversational acts, but of only those which are clearly related to positive face wants. (While some of those acts which impose on the hearer's negative face may also be considered threats or boosts to his positive face, these are very complicated matters, and discussing them any further here will only blur the present discussion).

The change of values mentioned above will create an imbalance in the interaction where one speaker's face values are now better or worse-off than before as compared to the other speaker. In the case of self-degradations and compliments, the balance is changed to the advantage of the addressee and disadvantage of the speaker (no material advantage/disadvantage is meant by this). In the case of boasting and criticism the balance is changed to the advantage of the speaker and the disadvantage of the addressee.⁸ It may be noted that on this point we take a different stance from Goffman, because while his term 'disequilibrium' refers to the state of face values of one speaker only, in our approach those of both speakers are under consideration.

This uneven situation necessitates a corrective action to resume the 'ideal balance'. Observational results of some positive-face related activities in English show a systematic pattern:

Boasting

The formulation of boasting usually exhibits its negative status in conversation (Pomerantz 1975). It is either softened by the same speaker with additional material or is scaled down in an immediately next utterance. If such modification is not carried out, the speaker faces criticism:

- E: ... Y'see I'm so terrific
A: Y'see folks, he is very vain...

and

- B: I have a lot of friends who would come to the funeral and say
what an intelligent bright witty interesting person I was.
H: They wouldn't say that you were humble.

(p. 113)

Self-degradation

Although 'agreement' is the preferred response to assessments in general, when they are negatively valued assessments regarding the self, the response to them tends to be 'disagreement' (Pomerantz, 1975). Disagreement after self-degradations exhibits a strong opposition to the first assessment with an optional 'no', sometimes repeated for emphatic purposes, followed by a compliment:

- A: 'hhh I can't say anything. I'm stupid. er uh 'f I think uh-
the-f-uh-sump'n about a ma:n er the gover'ment yihknow,
I uh-'hhh Oh well it's me too Portia, hh' yihknow I'm no
bottle a 'milk,
(0.6)
P: Oh:: well yer easy tuh get along with, but I know he's that
way.

(p. 90)

Compliments

Pomerantz (1975) observes that 'recipients of compliments frequently respond to just prior compliments with disagreement' (p. 131) because of the social norms which do not allow people to praise themselves. So, even if somebody else does the praising for you, agreeing with what he says will still be a violation of the social norms. In spite of this, the recipients of compliments do not strongly turn down the compliments possibly because receiving a compliment satisfies one's desire for projecting a 'positive face'. Denying the compliments strongly will, therefore, mean the denial of an already established positive self-projection. So, although 'compliment responses are formed as partial agreements (e.g. diminution of credit, qualifications of priors), they nonetheless are treated as disagreements. That is, recipients' qualifications of prior compliments function as rejections of compliments' (Pomerantz, 1975, p. 134). Example:

A: ... you've lost suh much weight
 P: Uhh hmhh uhh hmhh well, not that much

(p. 98)

Accusations

Harvey Sacks (10/7/1967) observes that 'one of the things about rules of politeness is that while one may complain about non-present parties, one ought not to complain about present parties' actions' (p. 11). Such complaints and direct accusations function as violations of social norms again, to which the complaineer or the accused reacts strongly. Atkinson and Drew's (1979) findings also show that defensive action is common after accusations, an occurrence which is observable in the following extract:

Ken: Hey yuh took my chair by the way an' I don't think that was
very nice.
Al: I didn't take your chair, it's my chair.

(Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1978, p. 28)

After all this, a pattern emerges as regards situations where there are fluctuations in the previously established face values. The seconds in the exchange take opposites of the first actions (i.e. face boosting/face threatening) and targets of the actions (self/other):

Where the face of other is boosted and the face of self is threatened consecutively and by alternate speakers, 'politeness' can be said to be occurring.

Where the face of self is boosted and face of other is threatened consecutively and by alternate speakers, 'impoliteness' can be said to be occurring.

Restoration of Balance: 1

| | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|------------|----------------------|------------|
| | other ↑ | self ↓ | self ↑ | other ↓ |
| Speaker 1 | | | | |
| Speaker 2 | self ↓ | other ↑ | other ↓ | self ↑ |
| | polite interaction | | impolite interaction | |

↑ : face boosting
↓ : face threatening

This is one side of the coin. There are some indications in the Turkish data that the following is also feasible.⁹

[husband is referring to wife's under-chin]

Jock: Oh, golly! It just hangs down . .

Roz: Really?

Jock: . . like an old turkey crow. No, no. It's the one thing about you that ain't fat.

Roz: [exasperated] Boy, you're just begging for trouble!

(Churchill, 1978, p. 136)

So, while the same FTA/other may have different impacts depending on the relationship, different FTAs may have different impacts within the same relationship depending on the circumstances in which they are performed, speech quality (e.g. tone, pitch, stress, words, etc) used in performing them, and the part of the established image that they are damaging to.

1.5. Preference Orgznisztion

The intention in this section is to search for clear empirical support for Interactional Imbalance in what is known as 'Preference Organisation', and to demonstrate that utterances are marked in conversation in accordance with the balance movements.

The terms preference/dispreference refer to features of speaker turns. Preferred turns are straightforward, prompt, unmarked, and made up of single utterances. In comparison, dispreferred turns are consistently complicated and are marked in a variety of ways. Concentrating on invitation responses, for instance, the following cases stand in contrast to one another:

B: Why don't you come up and see me some times

A: I would like to

and

- B: Uh if you'd care to come over and visit a little while this morning I'll give you a cup of coffee
 A: hehh Well that's awfully sweet of you, I don't think I can make it this morning . hh uhm I'm running an ad in the paper and-and uh I have to stay near the phone.

(Atkinson and Drew, 1979, p. 58)

The striking difference between the two is summarized by Sacks (1987b) who says that 'if an agreeing answer occurs it... occurs contiguously, whereas if a disagreeing answer occurs, it may well be pushed rather deep into the turn that it occupies' (p. 58). Thus, in the second extract 'I don't think...' is preceded by other things whereas in the first exchange the answer is the first thing that appears in the turn.

On closer inspection it becomes clear that the 'acceptance' is straightforward, short, and prompt, in fact, so prompt that it overlaps with the last section of the previous utterance, and the refusal is heavily marked with the following extra components:

1. appreciation: that's sweet of you
2. appreciation intensifier: awfully (see Brown and Levinson, Positive Politeness, strategy 2, 'Exaggerate', 1987, p. 104)
3. rejection: I don't think I can make it this morning (see Brown and Levinson, on hedging verbs, like 'think', 'hope', 'wonder', p. 116)
4. account: I'm running an ad etc
5. hesitation signs: uhm, uh, .hh
6. repetition: and-and
7. delay items: hehh
8. opposition marker: Well (see Owen 1981, 1983 for such uses of Well)
9. limiting the time of refusal: this morning
10. obligation marker: I have to

In Levinson's (1983) inventory of dispreferred turn markers (DTMs) apart from most of the above, there are also self-editing, pauses (also Wootton, 1981, Pomerantz, 1975) and repair initiators (e.g. 'You want what?') included (p. 334 - see some of the dispreferred turn markers in Turkish in Ch.4).

It is said that dispreferred-ness is an attribute of the additional features displayed at utterance formation level. In the exact words of Atkinson and Drew (1979):

"the term 'preference' in this context does not refer to a speaker's psychological predisposition; instead it describes the systematic features of the design of turns in which certain alternative but non-equivalent actions are taken, as well as aspects of the sequential organisation of such actions."

(p. 59)

It is clear that the terms are used strictly in the turn-constructural sense, having nothing to do with the participants' preferential inclinations. However, immediately after this, the authors continue with:

"An example which is of more immediate relevance here is that for the recipient of an accusation (or complaint), some of the alternative conditionally relevant actions are preferred whilst others are dispreferred. Briefly, denials, justifications/excuses, counter-accusations and the like are preferred, whilst admissions and apologies are dispreferred the former actions disallow or challenge the ascription of blame, while the latter accept the blame imputation."

(p. 59-60)

When admissions and apologies are classified as 'dispreferred actions' 'for the recipient of an accusation', the one who originally made the accusation gets excluded. In fact, such actions are not 'dispreferred' but are 'preferred' from the accusing party's point of view. But why should admissions/apologies be dispreferred for the accused only? The answer is that by admitting the accusation he will be accepting the blame that comes

with it. Thus, by separating the accused from the accuser on the grounds of preference, and also connecting dispreference with blame imputations, Atkinson and Drew themselves build an implicit bridge between face considerations and preference organisation.

This bridge is later consolidated by Heritage (forthcoming) who says:

"the role of preference organisation in relation to a wide variety of conversational actions appears to be strongly associated with the avoidance of threats to 'face' (Goffman 1955, Brown and Levinson 1978), and ultimately the avoidance of outright conflict."

(p. 9)

On the question of where exactly in conversation preference organisation can be observed, Brown and Levinson (1987) write:

". . . there are preferences for matters as diverse as (i) agreement (vs. disagreement); (ii) repair by self (vs. repair by other of mistake or unclarity by self); (iii) acceptances (vs. rejections) of requests and offers; (iv) answers (vs. non-answers) to questions; in addition, preferences also hold across sequence types, for example, (v) offers by A (as opposed to requests by B to A); (vi) recognition by other of self on telephone (vs. self-identification); and so on."

(p. 38)

It is clear from the above that the authors do not confine dispreferred turn features to response types alone and indicate that these can be found in first turns also, but like Heritage, they too interpret this phenomenon in terms of FTAs:

"If one asks what determines which kinds of response are preferred vs. dispreferred, in this structural sense corresponding to unmarked vs. marked in form respectively a large part of the answer must surely lie in face considerations... For example, taking the above list agreement is preferred because disagreement is an FTA... self-repair because correction by other may imply that self is misguided or incompetent..., acceptances of offers or requests because the alternative refusals would imply lack of consideration... as might non-answers to questions."

(p. 38)

However, correlating preference organisation with FTAs unconditionally does not answer the question 'Why is it that some FTAs such as self-deprecations (Pomerantz, 1975, 1984) are preferred and some others such as apologies (Atkinson and Drew, 1979) are dispreferred although they can be similarly damaging for the speaker's face?' If it were a direct link between preference organisation and face threat, these markers would have been used in both of these acts and not only in one. Furthermore, dispreferred-ness is such that its markers may accompany face-boosting activities (like boasting) as well as FTAs. A closer look at the distribution of markers across positive face related activities shows that preference organisation is describable in terms of FTAs (and FBAs) in Interactional Imbalance, rather than in terms of such acts in isolation. In more specific terms, preference is observable in balance restoring activities and dispreference in imbalance ignoring ones. Additionally, first slot activities in the polite section are always preferred while those in the impolite section can be dispreferred, a fact which suggests that there is more inclination in speech to mark a change in balance when it is disturbed to the addressee's disadvantage. Evidence for these points, which explain the whole phenomenon more neatly than providing reasons for each dispreference case individually, is given below.

1. *Polite Interaction*

A. First slot activities

These do not bear dispreferred turn markers, whether they are FTAs or FBAs:

a) FBA/other

A: You look so nice

(Pomerantz, 1978, p. 84)

R: You're a good rower, Honey.

(Pomerantz, 1978, p. 102)

b) FTA/self

C: I'm talking nonsense now.

(Pomerantz, 1984, p. 86)

L: I'm so dumb I don't even know it.

(Pomerantz, 1984, p. 87)

B. Second slot activities

These vary so far as preference is concerned depending on whether or not they restore the balance.

- a) Although agreement is preferred after a number of FBA/other activities, it is not so after compliments. The reason for this is that agreement by B to A's compliment confirms B's face boost, leaving A at a disadvantage at the end of the exchange. Pomerantz provides examples to show that disagreement by B to his face boost is the preferred activity in this location:

A: Good shot

→ B: Not very solid though

(Pomerantz, 1978, p. 99)

L: You brought - like a ton of things.()

→ E: Just a few little (things.).

(Pomerantz, 1978, p. 100)

while agreement which continues the imbalance can accommodate DTMs:

A: Oh it was just beautiful.

→ B: Well thank you uh I thought it was quite nice.

(Pomerantz, 1978, p. 97)

- L: Those'r jus' beautiful (They're great.)
 —> E: Well-
 —> E: Thank- It's juh- This is just the right (weight)

(Pomerantz, 1978, p. 85)

b) After FTA/self, those activities which boost the other's face (see Schema 1, on p.19) follow the preferred turn format:

- A: ... I feel like uh her and I play alike hehh
 —> B: No: You play beautifully.

(Pomerantz, 1984, p. 84)

- C: ... 'ere Momma She talks better than I do
 —> B: Aw you talk fine

(Pomerantz, 1984, p. 85)

Acceptance in this location is very rare but if it occurs, it carries DTMs:

- Adele: I still feel that I did the wrong thing. And I'm sick about it,
 —> Milly: ehhh
 Adele: Sometimes I feel so (0.4) () I really feel (0.2) so tired and sort of (0.3) alone and everything I can go into tears about it no
 —> (0.2)
 Adele: no kidding I feel real badly about it
 —> Milly: hh Yeh well that's tru-

(Jefferson, 1984, pp. 365-6)

In view of the above, then, it can be said that activities which tip and restore the balance as required by polite interaction do not need to be marked at all and as a result, they appear in the preference format. Activities which fail to repair the imbalance, however, will have to be marked to compensate for their non-conformity.

2. *Impolite Interaction*

A. First slot activities

It can be observed here that preference is distributed evenly, and that the first slot activities appear in (i) preferred turn format, as well as in (ii) dispreferred.

a) FBA/self

- i) K: ...Y'see I'm so terrific.

(Pomerantz, 1978, p. 89)

B: ...I have a lot of friends who would come to the funeral and say what an intelligent, bright, witty, interesting person I was.

(Pomerantz, 1978, p. 89)

- ii) B: So he- so then, at this- y'see, - I don't like to brag but see he sorta like backed outta the argument then.

(Pomerantz, 1978, p. 90)

G: ...I'm much better than he is! Well, maybe I shouldn't say that.

(Pomerantz, 1978, p. 90)

b) FTA/other

- i) (A puts a bottle on a table, obstructing M's view of TV)

M: Hey, you building up a barrier for me.

(Owen, 1983, p. 53)

Ken: Hey, yuh took my chair by the way an' I don't think that was very nice.

(Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1978, p. 28)

- ii) X: Well er I'm terribly sorry but er I'm afraid you're in my seat.

(Edmundson, 1981, p. 176)

B: Well , oh you never tell me anything. When well//

(Schegloff and Sacks, 1975, p. 245)

B. Second slot activities

Acts in this column again vary in relation to preference organisation and are executed with or without DTMs. In accordance with the general tendency, (i) balance restoring ones are preferred, and (ii) imbalance neglecting ones are dispreferred turns:

a) FTA/other

- i) Ken: Hey yuh took my chair by the way an' I don't think that was very nice.

—→ Al: I didn't take your chair it's my chair.

(Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1978, p. 28)

The second turn here is a self-defence and therefore an FBA/self (see Schema I).

- ii) T: Steve er::m (always) seems to make sarcastic comments en(s) things like (.) er::m its one of my :: yuhn the way I speak (.) en things like tha:.

—→ (1.8)

T: Sor'a goes round sorta speaking (.) very very posh ° e(h)n

—→ (5.0)

—→ S: Alrigh' I'm sorry I do tha', (.) but some(s)times its jus my way uva joke un I know no- hardly anybody likes my way (.) having jokes,=

(Atkinson and Drew, 1978, p. 60)

The second turn here is an apology which blemishes face with acceptance of fault (FTA/self) and leaves the imbalance as it is at the same time.

b) FBA/self

In this location, FTA/other responses which conform to the balance restoration procedure as indicated in Schema 1, are conducted as preferred turns. As an example, see the two cases of criticism after boasting on p.17. Whether there can be any dispreference markers used here and whether they come with balance ignoring activities has to be left unanswered because we do not have enough evidence on this point in support of the theory.

Looking globally at both sections of Interactional Imbalance:

- DTMs can be seen in accompaniment of acts which maintain the imbalance and leave one speaker's face at a disadvantage. Acceptance of compliments, and apologies after accusations are only two examples. Markers in these occurrences (as opposed to unmarked occurrences) show that the speakers are sensitive to unbalanced face values.
- Additionally, the fact that dispreference markers can be used with the first turn activities of the Impolite section suggests that there is more sensitivity in interaction to the addressee's face disadvantage than there is to the speaker's. Moreover, DTMs in this location are also significant in terms of Interactional Imbalance and the restorational procedure. In an extract provided by Pomerantz (1978), it can be observed that when the first speaker uses DTMs in an FBA/self, the second speaker overlooks the boasting and treats the case as if no change to face values has been recorded:

[on A's appropriateness as a candidate for promotion]

A: Well you know as far as I'm concerned I would plus the fact that everybody else that they've, you know-that we've got at the store I've gone through throughly uhh

A: ... and I don't figure anybody else can do it only-

A: not from the standpoint that they can' handle the job=

B: = Hmhum.

A: = don't misunderstand me.

B: Right.

A: Bu-like Janet Brown, she's goin' to school in (etc.)

(p. 90)

Although FBA/self in the preferred format is recurrently followed by an FTA/other, the fact that no counteraction is taken in this case seems to be attributable to the presence of DTMs which presumably curtail the balance upsetting power of boasting, so that the need to neutralize the situation disappears. Of course, it is hard to imagine that imbalance will be ignored each time an FTA/other or FBA/self is performed as a dispreferred turn, but the example above suggests that at least the impact of the act on face values will be reduced considerably when it is cushioned between DTMs.

It is interesting to see that the findings in both sections are complementary, that is, dispreference is related to Interactional Imbalance and the acts in it (whether they are FTAs or FBAs) instead of to FTAs unconditionally. With this, our initial claim, i.e. Interactional Imbalance being more useful for the analysis of conversation than an FTA-based approach, gains credibility on two fronts:

- i) the FTA-based approach looks at single activities while Interactional Imbalance is concerned with the cohesion between these activities, and

- ii) the FTA-based approach studies the common characteristics in single activities but even some of these are hard to make sense of without an understanding of Interactional Imbalance.

1.5.1 Testing Interactional Imbalance in a single area: error correction

Making an error is considered a lapse in competence (Jefferson, 1987) and therefore it is damaging for the image one has developed. The least damaging way to recover from this is when the error-maker realizes and corrects it immediately:

- N: . She was giving me all the people that were gone this year I
mean this quarter y' / / know
J: Yeah.

(Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks, 1977, p. 364)

Its disclosure in reportings by the maker of it functions as FTA/self. See for instance how self-criticism for making an error is treated by the second speaker in the next example:

- A: And I shouldna went back tuh diamonds.
B: I think we were all so confused, I know I wasn't=
A: So-
B: =bidding right. I wasn't -- eh playing right, I wasn't doing
anything right.

(Pomerantz, 1975, p. 98)

As fault-finding in the self has created an imbalance, similar claims are made by the other to equalize the situation (FTA/self after FTA/self, see Schema 2).

Immediately after its occurrence and provided that the maker is seemingly unaware of its occurrence, to do the repair falls to the recipient but how to go about it is a sensitive decision because to correct someone is to

mark him with inefficiency or incompetence and therefore is an FTA/other just like an accusation is.

It is mentioned in the previous section that balance disturbing FTA/other activities in the first turn can either be preferred or dispreferred. This applies to other-correction which can appear without any DTMs:

A1: I-I mean I changed the oil, put new oil filters, r- completely redid the oil system, had to put new gaskets on the oil pan to stop-stop the leak, and then I put- and then-

—> Roger: That was a gas leak.

(Jefferson, 1987, p. 90)

Alternatively, more sensitivity may be displayed for the other's face disadvantages by putting the error-correction in a dispreferred turn. Similar to 'You want what?' quoted by Levinson as a DTM (see p.23), a variety of questioning techniques is found to be used for this purpose:

A: Hey the first time they stopped me from sellin cigarettes was this morning.
(1.0)

—> B: From selling cigarettes?

A: From buying cigarettes.

(Schegloff, et. al. 1977, p. 370)

A: I have a:- cousin teaches there.

D: Where

A: Uh: , Columbia

—> D: Columbia?

A: Uh huh

—> D: You mean Manhattan?

A: No.

(Schegloff, et. al. 1977, p. 369)

If the response to other-correction is a self-defence (FBA/self) which puts the balance right, it is not surprising now that this comes in the preferred format:

Roger: That was a gas leak.

—> Al: It was an oil leak buddy.

But if the error is accepted, then there may be extra activities in the second turn to indicate its dispreferred nature:

Jan: I guess they paid two-twenty thousand for the house and two thousand for the kiln

Beth: Mm::,

Jan: Technically.

Ron: (It is a) kiln.

—> Jan: Kiln, I don't know how to say it,

(Jefferson, 1987, p. 88)

Mr. O: What time is it now sir?

Desk: Three isn't it?

(0.7)

Mr. O: (We:ll?) I thought it was earlier than that,

(0.3)

—> Desk: It's two o'clock. I'm sorry.

(Jefferson, 1987, p. 96)

From the argument so far, an impression might have been created that restoration of balance is limited to next turn type or the markers in it, and that Interactional Imbalance is a matter concerning adjacency pairs alone. This is not the case. In the next example of 'a lapse in competence', we can see that face considerations may, in fact, spread over a sequence larger than two turns. We can also notice that it is possible for the speaker who has initially upset the balance to carry out the restoration-work, if the other is not in a position to do so:

1 B: I played bridge today, and I - I was in the home - an awfully nice party down on El Ravina - El Ravina.

2 A: Yeah.
[Talk regarding bad cards] ...

3 A: This was a - This was a party, where *is* El Ravina.

4 B: Well, I'll tell you sum'n, the way I went, I went onto Pacific Boulevard, and I went up past El S - Uh Prairie. *You* know,

5 A: Oh.

6 B: Rest Home. And then I turned to the left, and it's the very first street.

7 A: Oh! Of course. I know where it is,

- 8 B: Uh huh.
 9 A: I know.
 10 B: Uh huh.
 11 A: [Clears throat]
 12 B: And it's a very nice little street,
 13 A: Uh.
 14 B: Close to the ocean.
 15 A: I was getting it - mixed up with uh there's something like that
 out in uh *Little Falls*.
 16 B: Well, that could be,
 17 A: A-and uh like
 18 B: Mm hmm.
 19 A: Maybe it's just Ravina, not El Ravina.
 20 B: Mm hmm
 21 A: Out in Little Falls.
 22 B: Mm hmm.
 23 A: That's awfully -
 24 B: Well this is E-l, r-a, v-i-n-a.
 25 A: Yeah, / know where it is.
 26 B: Uh huh. Yah - yeah, it's very easy to find. I was - I just got to
 the - got to the // first (),
 27 A: It's the main one, to go down to,
 28 B: Yeah.
 29 A: Mm // hm.
 30 B: Uh huh. And then when I was going to - you know, out, there I
 was facing the wrong way, so I thought, etc.

(Schegloff, 1972b, p. 114-15)

This is a news-announcement sequence which suddenly changes course with Speaker A requesting new information in Turn 3. However, the manner in which it occurs indicates that A is diverting from the mainstream temporarily for the clearance of a problem before more can be said on the subject: 'This was a- This was a party- Where is El Ravina.' The supply of information (turns 4 and 6) should end with A's display of recognition in turns 7 and 9. At this point Speaker B gives the other the chance to make a return to the main sequence with 'uh huh' (turns 8 and 10) but the availability of the speaking ground is used by A for throat clearance (turn 11). As a result, Speaker B extends the supply of information in 12 and 14. In turn 15 something unusual happens: rather than going back to the main sequence which was cut off in turn 3 after 'this was a party', or elaborating on the referent which he now admits having knowledge of, Speaker A produces a defence for the initial non-recognition of El Ravina. This and the

speculation in turn 19 fit into this context not as parts of the news-announcement sequence but as relevant activities of face-work: Speaker A is justifying why he failed to recognize the place. Notice that once face-work is over, the talk goes back to news development, i.e. how Speaker B had travelled to El Ravina (turn 30).

As more will be said in the Conclusion on the relevance of face-related activities at certain conversational points, it may simply suffice here to acknowledge that the ongoing sequence can be stopped temporarily for reasons of a change in face values. *It is equally significant to observe that* face-work need not to be confined to a single turn but can continue over a sequence.

As a result of our discussion which has found systematic evidence in Preference Organisation generally, and in the area of Error-Correction specifically, it is now possible to claim that ordinary speech is constantly monitored by the speakers who are sensitive to changes in established face values. When these changes cannot be avoided, the resulting Interactional Imbalance has to be corrected at the earliest opportunity. Such considerations of politeness are observable in the turn types that speakers place in a sequence, the features they use in the turn, or the diversions they make from the main talk.

1.6 Troubles-telling and Politeness

To understand why politeness gives interesting and rich results in the area of troubles-telling, it must be noted that this is one of the face-damaging types of self-disclosure.

There is a variety of cultures in which self-disclosure of any kind is particularly discouraged. In the most extreme cases, for instance, it is reported that old fashioned Arab chiefs prescribe for themselves three days before they step forward from the initial moves in conversation without

revealing anything about the self during this time (Argyle, 1969, p. 207). Basso (1973) also gives examples from the Apache culture where talking about the self is not permissible between strangers, who examine one another in silence instead. Even if the relationship is an established one like that of parents/children, when the latter are at home for the school holiday, talking about personal matters is an activity which is considerably delayed.

For the British context, Laver (1981) observes the existence of three types of utterances in phatic communication:¹¹ a) neutral phrases, b) self-oriented phrases, and c) other-oriented phrases. If there is a social status difference between the two speakers, while either can pick up a neutral subject to start a talk, the other two are pre-ordained in that:

"the other-oriented phrases are politely available only to speakers of relatively higher status, and self-oriented phrases only to speakers of relatively lower status. Thus, in an encounter between a country gentleman out for a walk, and a hedger-and-ditcher clearing nettles from a ditch, polite options include... the country gentleman saying 'That looks like hard work', or the hedger-and-ditcher saying 'hard work, this'."

(p. 302)

Stepping out of these rules is possible but only to the advantage of the country gentleman whose self-oriented phrase 'I do like a breath of fresh air' will sound like an attempt to establish a momentary familiarity and an act of modesty whereas the hedger-and-ditcher's 'Out for a breath of fresh air, are you then?' will sound somewhat impertinent.

This is probably due to the fact that negative face wants are not evenly distributed between such speakers. The weak has limited control, if any, on his own privacy when confronted with the powerful. Furthermore, he is not supposed to interfere in the other's business. What this means is that while the personal space of the weak is open to invasion by the other, that of the powerful is sacred and inaccessible.

One way of judging where people stand in relation to one another on the social power structure is by examining the degree of control they can exercise over their own personal space. If this is evenly distributed between the two, it indicates their equality so far as social power is concerned. So the degree of access one allows the other to his personal affairs can be taken as the degree of intimacy he would like to establish or maintain with the other (see also rights and obligations specifically of Turkish troubles-tellers in Introduction, (v)). Experimental results show that, more often than not, self-exposure is taken reciprocally, that is, if one is prepared to disclose more about the self, the other tends to do the same to equalize the situation (Rubin, 1975).

While a speaker becomes vulnerable by self-exposure (as there is always the chance that the other may decide not to reciprocate, thus creating the asymmetrical situation of the weak and the powerful mentioned above), it is reasonable to assume that disclosure of a trouble is a greater threat to one's face because of the implicit confession that is heard in troubles-telling, of weakness, helplessness, and worry: the teller has not been able to prevent the trouble, suppress or diminish it, or change its course, etc. It may not necessarily be the teller's intention to communicate all this, in fact, he may even display signs of stoicism by laughing at the unpleasant situation, but Jefferson (1984b) reports that such jovial performances go unnoticed by the recipient who nonetheless treats the occurrence with utmost seriousness. This alone shows that troubles-telling is damaging to the teller's face and that the recipient cannot ignore its implications.

Looking at troubles disclosure as such explains better the reluctance shown by one individual in talking about the problems of another. Leech (1983), for instance, claims that condolences by which one speaker conveys sympathy to the other, although being courteous acts, present problems for the speaker because of what they refer to. Despite the fact that

"'I'm terribly sorry to hear that your cat died'... is polite, in contrast, for example, with 'I'm terribly pleased to hear that your cat died', there is nevertheless some reticence about expression of condolences, since to refer to the propositional context \bar{X} is in fact to express an impolite belief in the sense of a belief unfavourable to H (hearer). Hence it might be preferable to say, instead... 'I'm terribly sorry to hear about your cat'."

(p. 139)

The uneasiness felt by those who find themselves in direct contact with other's problems is exemplified by Goffman (1972):

"On Ward A, the high standards of demeanor were broken by the blind patient who at table would sometimes thrust a consideration of her infirmity upon the others present by talking in a self-pitying fashion about how little use she was to anybody and how no matter how you looked at it, she was still blind. Similarly, on Ward B, Betty was wont to comment on how ugly she was, how fat and how no one would want to have someone like her for a girlfriend. In both cases, those self-derogations, carried past the limits of polite self-depreciation, were considered a tax upon the others. They were willing to exert protective referential avoidance regarding the individual's shortcomings and felt it was unfair to be forced into contaminating intimacy with the individual's problems."

(p. 90)

Trouble is a 'controversial and embarrassing' topic, as Sacks (1971, April 9, p. 9) puts it because it portrays the weak, helpless and worrying side of one speaker while making the other speaker witness to this new image shaping. In other words, troubles-talk is an interesting area to study politeness in because the recipient, after deciding which newly projected image to tackle, (i.e. weak, helpless, or worried) and whether he is offering sympathy, or advice, or comfort, has to go through some phase(s) of politeness to repair the balance.

1.7 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to explore politeness so as to create the base for the analytical work that is to come in the following chapters.

Following the consensus on the supportive and protective aspects of politeness we moved towards the entity, 'face', which activates this sense of support and protection.

The relevant studies by Goffman and Brown and Levinson on face-work have indicated that politeness is the way that interactants avoid, maintain, and save face from damaging acts (FTAs). In this framework politeness is accessible from three separate angles, the discrimination being based on where the polite act stands in relation to FTAs (i.e. before, during, and after them). In support of this, pre-sequences looked very convincing devices for FTA avoidance.

However, after a close examination of a variety of first and second pair parts of positive face related activities, a 'regularity of opposites' was discovered in the pairs. This was the first indication that there was a system of face-work operating in conversation, and that it was not possible to consider every act as an injury to face. Once certain acts are looked at as face boosting (in contrast to face threatening) it becomes easy to appreciate the mechanism in question. This we call Interactional Imbalance and define it as 'the state of disturbance caused in the previously established face values of self and other, by means of face threatening or face boosting acts'. The choice of responses to balance disturbing acts shows that there is a tendency in speech to rectify the imbalance rather than to prolong it. Balance restoration is found to be achieved through either a subsequent opposite action to the same person's face, or a similar action to the other one's face, a phenomenon which could not have been explained if all acts had been evaluated as FTAs. The wealth of material on Preference Organisation has provided a strong empirical evidence and illustrated the fact that speakers attend to Interactional Imbalance rather than just FTAs. This has received a further confirmation from the analysis of a single sequence type, error-correction, where another point about Interactional Imbalance has been detected, that is,

it can spread over a sequence larger than two turns. In the light of the above, the pre-sequences which were initially thought of as avoiding FTAs have become possible candidates for avoiding persistent imbalance.

How important is Interactional Imbalance in conversation? We suggest that it is a predominant factor and a speaker, before producing each utterance, looks to the immediate future to make sure that he is not committing an irrevocable FTA (or FBA), takes the precaution for the present of saying what he is about to say in the least damaging and most acceptable way, and checks the immediate past to see if there is an interactional reparation that is due. The decision that a speaker reaches in attending to and exhibiting these considerations is evaluated by his addressees and overhearing listeners (like ourselves), in turn, as his official position in respect of these considerations. One area where it is possible to study people taking such decisions and organizing their turns and sequences accordingly is troubles-talk, and this will be discussed in detail in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

NOTES

1. For some statements of this kind, see Leech (1983, p. 83 and p. 104) who complains of the fact that politeness is treated as a superficial matter.
2. Hewitt and Stokes' (1975) argument about face considerations as reflected in speech is very similar to this: they say that people deal with possible violations of societal or conversational rules either retrospectively (after the breach has occurred), or prospectively (before the breach occurs).
3. These face wants seem to correspond to Lakoff's (1975) politeness rules of (a) Formality: keep aloof, and (b) Camaraderie: show sympathy, which, she says, cannot be combined because 'You cannot be extending the hand of friendship and stepping back aloofly at once' (p. 67).
4. These stages refer to the placement of the polite act relative to the FTA, and are not another terminology for 'negative' or 'positive' politeness.
5. The equivalent of 'Do-you-know-so-and-so?', similar to these pre-sequences, has been encountered in Turkish, and in one unrecorded conversation an additional function of it was discovered when it preceded a very damaging piece of gossip about this 'so-and-so', the gossip having been launched only after the recipient's confirmation of unfamiliarity with the person. Quite clearly, the function of the pre-sequence in this instance was to ensure non-recognizability, but the intention of using it was still face oriented in the sense that the speaker who was about to start a piece of gossip made sure that no offence would be committed to the recipient's face.
6. "The needs, desires, conditions, experiences, in short, the situation of one individual, when seen from his own point of view, provides a second individual with directions for formulating ritual gestures of concern. Here we find the indulgences and solicitousness that hosts provide by way of food, drink, comfort, and lodging, here 'grooming

talk', as when enquiries are made into another's health, his experience on a recent trip, his feelings about a recent movie, the outcome of his fateful business, here the neighbourly act of lending various possessions and providing minor services."

(Goffman, 1971, p. 66)

7. Scollon and Scollon (1983) claim that in some societies 'boasting' as non-serious or humorous self-display, is positively valued while 'bragging' which is understood to be serious, is disapproved.

8. Similarly, Leech (1983) argues that what may be a polite act from Speaker A's point of view will be considered an impolite act from Speaker B's. The example given is that of a situation where A is carrying B's case, a polite act on A's part but impolite for B for letting him do so.

9. What factors influence speakers in their decision to choose a response type from one set and not the other is not a question directly relevant to this work, but should make an interesting area for further research.

10 The fact that the same also applies to English is evident in the following compliment exchanges which comply with the procedure of Balance Restoration in (1) and (2) respectively:

- (1) A: Good shot
B: Not very solid (though)

(Pomerantz, 1978, p. 100)

- (2) C: Ya' sound (justiz) real nice
D: Yeah you soun' real good too.

(Pomerantz, 1978, p. 105)

11. 'Phatic communication' is used by Malinowski (1972) to refer to talk which is for establishing and maintaining contact.

CHAPTER 2: COLLECTION, SELECTION AND PRESENTATION OF DATA

2.1 Collection of Data

The Data consists of conversations recorded partly in Cambridge (England), partly in Ankara, but mostly in Eskisehir, a town half-way between Ankara and Istanbul in Turkey.

The taping was done during house-visits some of which were occasioned by specific events like a religious holiday,¹ Ramadan (the month of fasting in Islam), death in the family, serious illnesses, and operations, in the event of the host buying a new house, or having a close relative staying, or before long separations, all of which are reasons to have an open house. Other visits were occasioned for no other reason than 'I was passing by, so I called in' (Gecerken ugradim), something quite acceptable in Turkey so long as the time selected for the visit is the right one. Only a small number of visits were of a previously arranged and more formal nature.

12 different homes provided the setting, 2 being in Cambridge, 3 in Ankara, and 7 in Eskisehir, so although some of the participants took part as conversationalists in more than one setting, they were not always in the same contextual role relationships (host/guest) to one another. The conversations of 46 people, both male and female, in the age range of 18-65 and with different professional backgrounds were recorded.

A pocket model Sony tape recorder was used in the 23 hours of taping. The suitably small size of this model recorder made it possible to carry it either in the pocket or in a bag and the microphone also being inconspicuously small was attached to the collar.

At the time of the taping the participants were completely unaware of the fact that their conversations were being recorded. There may be ethical arguments against this conduct. However, it is our belief that, because the recordings were not, are not, and will not be used for any other purpose than research, the good cause behind it justifies the conduct. Moreover, most of the participants were later told about the circumstances and some in fact helped us with the first 'loose' transcriptions of the conversations. None requested confidentiality, the only comments made were to the effect, 'I wish I knew, I would have been careful of what I said', and the only feeling that was exhibited was that of pride at being able to contribute to a study of conversational aspects of Turkish.

This state of affairs helped us to collect as natural data as possible. By this we mean, ours is not the kind of data that is collected in experimentally constructed contexts where the experimenter decides in advance on the choice of speakers by taking into account their sex, professions, age, etc. and manipulates their behaviour by selecting the topics and distributing their turns at talk.²

Indubitably in 'arranged' settings there is the advantage of using sophisticated video recording facilities and thus permanently capturing minute details like gaze direction and body movements which prove to be extremely important in interpreting conversations.³ However, the disadvantage of such technology is that it cannot be hidden and the subjects of the experiment are likely to suppress what they might otherwise produce or produce only the deformed versions of it, if they know that they are being recorded. Working in relatively modest conditions and getting authentic samples of natural conversation were more desirable for our purposes than capturing in audio/visual dimensions full aspects of the speech which might have been distorted by the subjects in the awareness of the experiment.

Despite relying merely on the audio recordings, no difficulty has been

experienced in the analysis of data, except for a small number of instances where more than one pair of participants were holding separate conversations and such instances have been left out of the study.

2.2 Selection of Data

It has already been mentioned earlier that this work will be mainly concerned with the conversational features of the stretch of talk (troubles-talk) which starts with one of the speakers (troubles-teller) complaining or telling the other speaker (troubles-recipient) about his problems (troubles-telling/complaints).

As the rest of this work will be devoted to the consequences of this specific conversational event, we feel that it is necessary to clarify at this stage how certain utterances are found to qualify as troubles-telling. The selection procedure will be looked at in three sections: (i) content (2.2.1.1), (ii) features used by the teller (2.2.1.2), and (iii) sequential characteristics of the utterance (2.2.1.3); and, then, all three will be looked at in combination in (2.2.2).

In passing, however, two cautionary notes are called for, one on a taxonomical and the other on a terminological point.

The telling of a trouble is a conversational act, the responses to which show differences according to who is affected by the mishap. The delivery of troubles-telling is divisible into 6 categories depending on who receives the impact of the trouble:

- a) Speaker
- b) Recipient
- c) Speaker and Recipient
- d) Third party⁴
- e) Community including Speaker + Recipient
- f) Community excluding Speaker + Recipient

The following are examples of item e).

K The rate of exchange is still going down
S Yes unfortunately unfortunately

(Ext 3 p 241 lines 1-2)

N You have however put on the lights rather early
D But today darkness and so on is not of importance the
(political) atmosphere is dark.
N Sure, you re absolutely right
D The (political) atmosphere is dark.
N: The (political) atmosphere is dark, yes.

(Ext 4, p. 241, lines 1-5)

The common feature of this type is that the recipient either accepts or rejects the truth value of the statement. On this point Sacks (1975b) also says:

"In this case of actions like complaining or offering an excuse one recurring type of utterance that goes directly after the action is an utterance that proposes either its truth or its falsity. Also, such utterances seem to implicate the effectiveness of the proffered complaint or excuse. Given a complaint or an excuse, a sequentially relevant next utterance can be concerned with acceptance or rejection of the excuse or complaint, and one way of acceptance or rejection of a complaint or an excuse can be done is by reference to assertions of the truth or falsity of the complaint or the excuse. That is to say, at least with respect to certain ways in which complaining or excusing is done, acceptance of a complaint or excuse can be made via 'That's true'. Rejections of a complaint or excuse can be made via 'I don't believe it. It's not so', or 'It's false'."

(p. 62)

This is too limited to explain the occurrences in talk which starts with a speaker disclosing a personal problem. In the area of (a), there is an extra element, the face implications of the news, which is not present in other cases of news announcements, or at least, not to the effect of changing the interactional balance to the disadvantage of the teller. It is so strong that it overshadows the reportable, and makes it obligatory for the recipient to deal with this aspect immediately. To avoid unnecessary diversions, the present study will be concentrating on talk in which the speaker's personal trouble is

disclosed, rather than the forecast of a harsh winter (e), or the neighbour's stolen car (d), or the food shortage in Africa (f), etc.

Secondly, a clarification is needed on the term 'to complain', because the way we are using it is not as broad in meaning as the references made to it in the linguistic literature.

In one sense, 'to complain' seems to be used for a piece of talk which shows the speaker's discontent with certain occurrences or states of affairs, as these stand to be disadvantageous from the speaker's point of view. For example:

Gwen. So I didn't go typing last night,-
 Lorna =Didn't you--
 Gwen No I ca-- I though I can't leave him for
 Lorna Oh : : : : : : : :
 Lorna n No.
 Gwen: two hours if I'm if he's crying when I've left him for once

(Jefferson, 1980a, p. 14)

The example Sacks (1972, April 4) gives in one of his notes, 'Oh God, Christmas has gotten so damn painful', is of the same nature, i.e. it is nobody's fault that the case is so; there is no one to blame for the occurrence.

In another sense, 'complaint' is used for instances where attention is intentionally drawn to the agent of the unpalatable occurrence. Quoting from Sacks (1972, April 4, p. 2) again 'Shit, when's that guy gonna learn that I don't want an electric skillet, I want a coat or a sweater.'

Here, the dissatisfaction is not primarily with the fact that the speaker is given things that he does not want instead of things that he does; it is in the fact that a certain somebody is being resistant to complying with the speaker's wishes. Similarly, in the next example, the focus moves from the patient's health onto the doctor for not being adequately concerned for the patient's health:

Tess: You know iv-u it take course at (.) that a ge it takes tj : me=
 Paula: =Oh ye : s. Ye : s. .hhh Ye s- That's ri : ght,=
 Tess: =Her doctor never ca : lled again you (know?)
 Paula: No : :

(Jefferson, 1980a, p. 8)

In the third sense, 'to complain' is used for talk which expresses the speaker's discontent with the recipient's behaviour, past or present. In this respect, Edmundson (1981) formulates 'Complain' as 'H did P, P bad for S' (S: Speaker, H: Hearer) and exemplifies this with 'merely to say "You did P will be interpreted as constituting a complaint' (p. 278). Atkinson and Drew (1979) likewise, propose that 'in conversation an accusation or blame imputation may be made straightout as a complaint in a statement format as "You did X"' (p. 79).

In Turkish, 'Sikayet etmek' (to complain) always takes an object, e.g.

Halinden sikayet etmek: to complain about a situation that one is in

Birisinden sikayet etmek: to complain about a third person (usually) in his absence

The main semantic difference between the Turkish 'Sikayet etmek' and the English 'to complain' is that in Turkish, the agent of the complainable (the person who causes the problem) and the listener cannot be the same person. When a speaker talks about a problem caused by the listener, his activity is called 'serzenis' (rebuke). Henceforth, 'to complain' will be used as an alternative to 'troubles-telling', covering only the converging areas of A and B in the following chart:

COMPLAINTS

| | A | B | C |
|---------|-------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| | about a situation | about a person | about the listener |
| English | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Turkish | Yes | Yes | No |

2.2.1 Criteria for classification

Recognizing complaints is not an easy undertaking. For one, they do not come in the explicit performative form of the Austinian fashion (1965; Searle, 1971, 1975, 1976). A speaker can apologize implicitly like 'Oh, I'm late', or explicitly, 'I apologize for being late', or make a promise in either way like 'I'll be there' or 'I promise you that I'll be there', but in unofficial contexts complaints are not performed with any reference to their activity status. If an explicit reference does appear, it is to disclaim the activity rather than claim it, e.g. 'We've been extremely busy lately, mind you I'm not complaining, it's always nice to be that way rather than having nothing to do'.

In classifying an utterance as troubles-telling, we have been led by three criteria:

- i) content
- ii) features used by the teller to alert the recipient to the fact that the utterance is intended as troubles-telling
- iii) sequential characteristics of the utterance

2.2.1.1 Content

Troubles that are manifested in troubles-telling fall into two categories: a) institutionalized troubles, and b) non-institutionalized troubles.

Institutionalized troubles are those such as death, ill-health, and separation which take ritualized responses:

death: basin sagolsun (may your head be alive)

ill-health: gecmis olsun (may it be past)

separation: Allah kavustursun (may God reunite)

Non-institutionalized troubles are references to states of affairs which are contrary to personal expectations and wants. These troubles cover an extremely broad area ranging from discomfort, loss/damage, need/shortage, to all aborted efforts, from personal exposure to negative behaviour, to falling short of socially acclaimed goals, from restrictions and obstructions, to routines and unexpected difficulties.

In a sociological study carried out to find Turkish stereotypes and values, Tezcan (1974) reports the responses of 200 university students (University of Ankara, Faculty of Education) to a question 'What is the worst trouble that one may encounter in one's life?' as in Chart 2.5 Our data covers all or part of the troubles itemized in the list except for (7).

2.2.1.2 Features used by the teller to alert the recipient to the fact that the utterance is intended as troubles-telling

Turner (1974) says that 'in constructing their talk, members provide for the recognition of what they are doing, by invoking culturally provided resources' (p. 214). This may be done non-vocally, as in the case of troubles-telling, putting on special facial expressions, carrying out certain body

movements, re-adjusting proximity, etc., or vocally as by crying, using special tone, speed and pitch in delivery, etc. It was not possible for us to capture the visual clues, however useful they may have been for the recipient in interpreting the talk.⁶ Instead, the features discussed in the rest of this section have been detected in conjunction with troubles-telling. It should be stressed at this point that these features are not claimed to be the sole defining characteristics of troubles-telling; they may occur without signalling troubles-telling (see, for example, 'repetition' as one of these features, appearing in responses to 'inconvenience checks' - p.64), just as troubles-telling may occur without their accompaniment. However, when coupled with the content and sequential location of this verbal activity, such features increase the recognizability of troubles-telling for the native speaker:

2.2.1.2.1 Down-graded response to enquiry

One point in the overall organisation of conversation where troubles-telling frequently appears is immediately after welfare enquiries:

- S: How is (he), how is Kerem?
 A: Kerem's ill, Kerem's ill today
 S: Shame! What, is it something like flu?

(Ext. 5, p. 242, lines 1-3)

Given that such enquiries are a part of the ritualized procedure for opening conversations rather than being places to initiate the first topic, speakers who have a trouble to announce, may postpone it to a later stage and get through this one by giving a down-graded response. Jefferson (1980b) observes that in English 'the down-graded conventional response to an enquiry can orient a recipient to the possibility of a report on a trouble such that, should one occur, the recipient is prepared to track it' (p. 12). In this respect, things like 'pretty good' and 'not bad, I suppose' stand in contrast

CHART 2

The worst trouble that can happen in one's life

| | Nº of students | % |
|--|----------------|------------|
| 1. Illness, accident, poverty | 43 | 21.5 |
| 2. Losing national independence | 13 | 6.5 |
| 3. Death or rape in the family | 20 | 10 |
| 4. Losing or being separated from someone loved (friend/lover) | 16 | 8 |
| 5. Unable to achieve the aims, failure in profession or career | 62 | 31 |
| 6. Being subjected to injustice, libel, betrayal, malice, or having unsuccessful marriage | 20 | 10 |
| 7. Committing a crime | 6 | 3 |
| 8. Being addicted (to alcohol, gambling, sex, lying bribery) | 5 | 2.5 |
| 9. Others/unintelligible | 6 | 3 |
| 10. Not answered | 9 | 4.5 |
| T O T A L | 200 | 100 |

M. Tezcan, 1974, p. 256

to definitely positive responses such as 'fine', 'wonderful', 'can't be better', and herald the possible announcement of a trouble. Similarly, in Turkish:

- A: Well, how are you?=
 —> K: = Thank you. As you see, I'm not in
 A: You're well?
 —> K: a great trouble.
 (0.1)
 K: I'm trying to cope with an illness
 A: What's that? What sort of an illness?

(Ext. 6, p. 244, lines 1-5)

The use of 'not in a great trouble' here heralds the presence of a trouble and imminence of its telling.

2.2.1.2.2 Pre-troubles-telling

In Chapter 1, it was mentioned how speakers take precautions by checking the conditions in advance before indulging in potentially face-threatening acts, one of which is the announcement of news:

- D Did you hear the terrible news?
 R No, what?

(Teresaki, 1976, p. 19)

- D I-I-I had something- (terrible) t'tell you.
 R How terrible is it?

(Teresaki, 1976, p. 19)

This technique helps the speaker, Teresaki argues, to withhold the news just in case the recipient has already been informed of the news worthy item through other channels. If, on the other hand, he has not yet been informed, the soliciting move that he produces in the second turn of the sequence will give a go-ahead for the delivery of the news. This occurred only once in the Turkish data, even then the news was to do with a third

party's trouble rather than the teller's. Although good news has a customary ceremony as a pre-announcement stage like Mujdemi isterim (I want a reward for my good news) which may or may not be followed by a promise of or the actual handing over of some money (especially if the announcer is a child) before the news can be disclosed, for some reason, Turkish speakers do not introduce their own trouble with a 'Have you heard my trouble' kind of opening. As Teresaki's examples concentrate only on the pre-announcement and soliciting turns in the sequence, while further developments in the talk are usually cut out, it is not possible to check if the same is true for English contexts as well.⁷

Analysing telephone calls to police by callers who want to complain about somebody, Sharrock and Turner (1978), find a component in the form of: 'I have a complaint', preceding the formulation of a problem:

- P: Newton Police,
 C: Hello: : ?
 P: Yes,
 C: I ha : ve a complaint um my neighbor is (0.5) le-subl- well
 renting her garage out...

(p. 181)

In such official circumstances there is a constraint on the complaining parties to make their point as quickly and clearly as possible. Those who cannot formulate their problems in a nut-shell, produce these prefatory moves to alert the recipient that 'it may take some listening to find what it is thus proposed the completed narrative will turn out to be'. This again, was non-existent in the Turkish data, probably because non-institutional contexts do not have the same restrictions for the participants as institutional ones do.

On the other hand, turns in the form of 'I have a problem' usually signal that the forthcoming move in the sequence is either a request for help, or an excuse:

- > X: oh hello Mrs Norton
 Y: oh hello Susan
 X: yes erm well I'm afraid I've got afraid I've got a bit of a problem
 Y: you mean about tomorrow night
 X: yes erm you know I
 Y: oh dear
 X: know that you said
 Y: yeah
 X: er you wanted me tomorrow night
 Y: uhuh yeah
 X: well I just thought erm [clears throat] I've got something else on which I just didn't think about when I arranged it with you you know and er...

(Edmundson, 1981, pp. 119-20)

However, what is found in Turkish that can be classified as pre-troubles-tellings is the reference to emotional states such as irritation, annoyance, anger, depression, anxiety, disappointment, resentment, and the like. We draw our example first in English and from Treichler et. al. (1984) who analyse a medical encounter between a patient and a doctor:

- Dr: Wha'do you think has been happenin' with ya. Any ideas?
 (4.0)
 Pt: Lots a' worriation
 Dr: Lot a what?
 Pt: Worriation
 (0.2)
 Dr: Worriation? Lotta worryin' y mean?=
 Pt: -Yes
 Dr: What've you been worried about?

(p. 84)

In response to the doctor's eliciting move, the patient makes an entry into the realm of troubles-telling with 'Lots a' worriation'. It can be noted, however, that this is not troubles-telling, it is just a prelude to it, indeed after clearing away the misunderstanding caused by an unorthodox word, the doctor still has to find out the real cause of this psychological disturbance. By referring to such emotional states, the troubles-teller gives a licence to the recipient to probe into the depth of the trouble with enquiries like 'Why?', 'What is wrong?', 'What's the matter?'.⁸

- N: I'm worried about Hatice's daughter in law
 S: Why?
 N: That day we were discharged from the hospital, that poor thing. [story]

(Ext. 7, p. 247-8, lines 3-5)

- S: I feel very frustrated
 (1.0)
 A: Why, what happened?
 S: Well, today, look, at the Board Meeting we were looking at the Budget for 1987 [story]

(Ext. 8, p. 249, lines 2-4)

2.2.1.2.3 Expletives

Certain expletives appear frequently within troubles-telling, most notably 'ay' (exclamation of pain) and 'aman' (mercy):

- N: Mercy! These flies flock in.

(Ext. 7, p. 248, line 11)

- A: I shut myself into my room like this- ay : I don't see anyone anymore I don't see any person anymore, ay I've begun to feel really down, until half past five.

(Ext. 9, p. 252, line 6)

- N: Mercy, they have these shutters on the windows of Namik's house. Then it rained, splash, splash, splash, ay : : : , I was awake all night.

(Ext. 10, p. 255, line 1)

In the same way, Sacks (1972, April 4) finds appositional beginnings prefacing complaints in English, and points out that in sentences like 'Oh God, Christmas has gotten so damn painful' and 'Shit, when's that guy gonna learn that I don't want an electric skillet, I want a coat or a sweater', the expletives

possibly prepare the listeners for what they are going to hear next. However, he goes on to say:

"Of course, a question is, why should you preface what, after all, is itself kind of plain - that 'Christmas has gotten so damn painful' is a complaint, and an annoyance and therefore why have to say beforehand 'I'm now going to say something in which I complain, or express annoyance' since it is not as if the sentence that follows cannot itself be readily decoded".

(1972, April 4, p. 2)

Sacks' answer to the question is that these expletives help the speaker to hold the floor or to acquire a speaking turn, and therefore are devices operational in the organisation of the turn-taking system, rather than having any meaning within the utterance. What Sacks does not attempt to answer, though, is why the appositional beginning to a complaint is so marked - that is to say, why is it that an utterance which carries the implications of the speaker's annoyance, can be prefaced with an appositional beginning that is equally charged with annoyance, while other utterances are prefaced with neutral floor holding devices. It is impossible to predict what may follow an expletive like 'uh' or 'hey', and as a result, they may appear prior to any utterance, one example being 'Uh, what's your name?' whereas the annoyance-implying 'Oh God' is not acceptable before 'What's your name?' or is acceptable only in special circumstances.

Goffman (1981) sees such expletives in a different light. 'Response cries', as he calls them, are expressions of 'natural overflowing' and of the 'bursting of normal restraints', giving their users 'the passing right to be momentary centres of sympathetic attention. Entering or leaving what can be taken as a state of marked natural discomfort - we seem to have the licence to externalize an expression of our inner state'. (p. 101).

Sudnow, (1967), too, reports on the occurrence of self-directed remarks like 'shit' and 'Goddamn' by the relatives of the deceased in hospitals

after the receipt of bad news. These voice solo remarks are usually punctuated by crying, which is evidence that they occur when the utterer is, not only in a physically, but also in a psychologically disturbed state (p. 141).

The more temporal separation there is between the expletive and the first encounter with the conditions that have provoked the expletive, the more out-of-date the expletive should become. We have, however, noticed the occurrence of such expletives also with reportings:

- > A: Oh I wn tuh the dentist 'nd uh God he wunnds pull a tooth en make me a new gold uh - - 'hhhh bridge for eight hunder' dollars.

(Pomerantz, 1975, p. 34)

- > S: Oh : God we had the (.) police round all (0.2) ni : ght, hh it was hectic. 'hhh So I hardly got any work done.

(Jefferson, 1984a, p. 192)

The inference one is tempted to make from this is that the expletives are used in conversation when the speaker manages a flashback to the sensation experienced at the moment of the first encounter with the reported occurrence, to indicate that the annoyance or whatever sensation was experienced is still fresh.

It is our belief that expletives are used within complaints to increase their impact and thus help the recipient to recognize the nature of the utterance. In any case, the fact that expletives can occur even when the speaker has already obtained a speaking turn and started complaining, vitiates the suggestions that they are guard dogs for the security of the floor:

- > E: You ought to see me broken out today God I t(hh)ook a ba : th, and I'm just a ma : ss of b- little p(h)imp(h)les : :

(Jefferson, 1984b, p. 347)

- C: But it's - been cold.
 —> A: I, know it. I- turned the furnace up. I tol' Guy my Go : d, -hh
 Oh it's cold uptown : n too.

(Pomerantz, 1975, p. 5)

2.2.1.2.4 Lexical clues

One recurrent feature of troubles-telling in English seems to be the word 'just', possibly used to elevate the overall impact of the complaint:

- > P: ... an I jus : t ca : n : t move :: atall now : (0.2) an I : can't
 sleep at night : en he gave me as : pirins te ta : ke a(t) night :

(Heath, 1984, p. 251)

- > Emma: Oh God it's terrible Lottie, my toenails- 'hhh they just look
 —> so sick those big toe nails it just makes me sick. You know,
 —> they're jus- dead. I-I sat out today and I said my God am I
 —> just dying.

(Jefferson, 1983, p. 413)

- > W: Somebody came along and ju : st didn't like me (0.1) They
 j(h)u(hhst) didn't.

(Pomerantz, 1984, p. 100)

Similarly, aggravating devices are added to troubles-telling in Turkish, most frequently (yani) boyle 'like this', and nasil 'imagine how', sometimes used together, nasil boyle, having the function of appealing to the listener's imagination for the severity of the trouble:

- S: You don't know the place, you don't know the way, it's a
 dangerous area, I don't want to go out. Like this (yani boyle) -
 well at home like this (boyle) last week I was in the house
 from morning until night.

(Ext. 9, p. 252, line 5)

A: I shut myself into my room like this (boyle) - ay : I don't see anyone anymore I don't see any person anymore.

(Ext. 9, p. 252, line 6)

[S is complaining about her husband for being a cigarette addict]

S: Even at meals in Ramadan, everyone's surprised (at him). Imagine how (nasil), no sooner does he sit down at the table than he lights up a cigarette, every time.

(Ext. 11, p. 256, line 1)

2.2.1.2.5 Repetition

Reminiscent of the technique used in 'Somebody came along and just didn't like me (0.1) They j(h)u(hhst) didn't', (see p. 60), repetition, either of a clause, or the whole sentence is quite common in Turkish. This is occasionally done in a straightforward way, repeating the prior without any alterations:

N: Cleaning never ends, we cleaned the house, why doesn't it stay clean? It doesn't stay clean. [It's getting untidy, it's getting untidy.]

(Ext. 31, p. 291, line 1)

S: I can't tell you [how many mosquitoes, how many mosquitoes] we have at night.

(Ext. 12, p. 259, line 3)

There are also instances in which the repeat is an upgraded version of the repeated prior, achieved through an emphatic stress on a certain item in the repeat:

S: For supper [every evening it's fish and chips, every evening it's fish and chips,] without fail.

(Ext. 9, p. 253, line 8)

Alternatively, an additional word appears in the repeat:

A: Kerem's ill, Kerem's ill today.

(Ext. 5, p. 242, line 2)

Yet another technique is replacing one of the words of the repeated prior with another word of the same kind in the repeat:

A: I shut myself into my room like this - ay : [I don't see anyone anymore, I don't see any person anymore,]

(Ext. 9, p. 252, line 6)

anyone is replaced by any person

S: [You don't know the place, you don't know the way,] it's a dangerous area, I don't want to go out.

(Ext. 9, p. 252, line 5)

place is replaced by way.

Repetition of onomatopoeic sounds, emphasizing the irritating nature of the trouble, especially when it is to do with hearing is quite common:

[the talk is about mosquitoes]

A: When we were in Istanbul we had a lot of them too, Ay, every evening, buzz buzz buzz over our head.

(Ext. 12, p. 259, line 6)

N: Mercy, they have these shutters on the windows of Namik's house. Then it rained, splash, splash, splash, ay : : : I was awake all night.

(Ext. 10, p. 255, line 1)

This technique is used not only to imitate natural sounds, but also to create certain effects in speech, like:

S: ... after I had got out, I was embarrassed at the fact that, although I wanted to say lots of things, I couldn't. Well, one cannot remember them one after the other as if someone is tapping. I mean, in the manner of...

(Ext. 13, p. 264, line 28)

'as if someone is tapping' in this example is a translation of convenience. A more accurate approximation is: 'It does not come to one's mind tap, tap, tap, tap, tap'. Here the attempt is to create a contrast between a closely intervalled tapping, and what generous intervals a human mind needs in remembering things. With that, the speaker is communicating the inadequacy of the interviewing time for making an impressive presentation. Another example is:

A: I get up in the morning at nine or ten or whatever, take Kerem to school, then work at a furious pace.

(Ext. 9, p. 252, line 6)

Again, translating 'haldir haldir' as 'work at a furious pace' was out of necessity rather than accuracy. 'Haldir' as a single word, does not exist in Turkish, but in doubles or trebles or in whatever multiples, it creates the effects of mechanical work in sound, pace and intensity, and transmits the same complaint as a direct statement, 'I am not a machine to work like that' would.

2.2.1.3 Sequential characteristics of the utterance

Although 'trouble' signalling components are useful indicators for the recognition of troubles-telling, they are not complaints per se, and thus, their presence does not guarantee the initiation of troubles-talk. Taking repetition as an example, it is possible to envisage several uses of it, one of which is in the rejection directed to the prior speaker's assumption that by starting a

conversation, he has caused disturbance in an activity more attractive than the on-going conversation:

- > B: Hi, did I wake you
 A: Uh no no, not at all hh//h
 (Schegloff and Sacks, 1975, p. 253)

The mirror image of it in Turkish is:

- > N: Halide Hanim, for God's sake- if you are busy, please
 H: A: no my dear
 no, we were sitting just like that.
 (Ext. 14, p. 267, lines 1-2)

In both cultures there seems to be a rule for placing repetitive negation markers before corrections can be made on the fact that the activities have been wrongly assumed.

While some of the features used in conjunction with troubles-tellings, especially the ones which are turn-internal such as expletives and repetition, also appear in other speech activities, one may wonder whether it is the trouble referring content that makes an utterance a troubles-telling. In answer to this query, we have the following example:

- S: I suppose the bus does not come here on Sundays- I waited for
 a while at the bus-stop=
 A: =Oh dear, I wish I had told you that (before) No : : : , it doesn't.
 (Ext. 12, p. 258, lines 1-2)

Even though there are no additional features of troubles-telling in the first turn, it is still possible to read some disappointment in it. In fact, this is definitely the way the recipient interprets it. But here, the crucial point is in the fact that the hardship was experienced as a result of the recipient's inconsiderateness, her failure to warn the guest in advance of the possible

difficulties that might come up in finding the way. Because of this fact, the recipient hears the utterance as a rebuke and not as a complaint. But to the analyst of the first utterance, this common knowledge between the speakers, i.e. that S was not informed by A of the dangers, is inaccessible.⁹

If the contents of an utterance and the means used in its production are not the sole criteria, then how will an analyst select the samples of a certain speech activity for examination? In other words, what will be the criteria for the recognition of a troubles-telling?

Heritage (1984b) who evaluates the CA findings to date has the answer in relation to the participants who, he says, are faced with the same analytical considerations continuously in speech: the meaning of any utterance lies in its sequential positioning. Interpretation is largely dependent on the expectations that one sets for oneself because of the a priori knowledge of the sequential organization. Taking adjacency pairs and the conditional relevance that holds between the pair parts as a starting point, Heritage says that the 'action template aspect of adjacency pair organization has a vitally significant interpretative corollary, namely that a first speaker can use his or her own action as a presumptive basis on which to interpret what a next speaker says. Thus, a questioner may assume that his or her question will be met with either an answer or, if not, an account for the lack of an answer' (p. 254). In fact, a less compromising tone on the same point can be traced in Schegloff and Sacks' (1975) attitude, who say:

'there do not seem to be criteria other than placement (i.e. sequential) ones that will sufficiently discriminate the status of an utterance as a 'statement', 'assertion', 'declarative', 'proposition', etc., from its status as an 'answer'. Finding an utterance to be an 'answer', to be accomplishing 'answering', cannot be achieved by reference to phonological, syntactic, semantic, or logical features of the utterance itself, but by consulting its sequential placement, e.g. its placement after a question.'

(pp. 241-2)

Following this, Heritage suggests that, when a speaker produces an utterance like 'Why don't you come and see me sometimes' and is responded to with either (i) 'I'm sorry. I've been terribly tied up lately', or (ii) 'I would like to', because of his knowledge of the conditional relevance, he will understand that his utterance is taken as a rebuke in the case of (i), and as an invitation in (ii). Upon hearing what response he gets, the first speaker has then the opportunity of clearing away any misunderstandings that are displayed by the response, for instance, by repeating the original utterance, which on its re-occurrence will inform the second speaker that his response was not the expected one, and that he has misjudged the nature of the first utterance:

- B: Why don't you come and see me sometimes
 A: I would like to
 B: Yes, but why don't you.

(p. 258)

The important analytical issue that needs a mention here is that the analyst is entirely dependent on the decision of the first speaker as to whether or not he will correct any misunderstanding that is displayed in the recipient's response. As it happens, the first speaker may not bother to do any corrections and may allow the development of the sequence to move in a new direction altogether. For example:

- A: Ay, the preparations for the boy lasted the whole day.
 (1.0)
 S: Haven't you gone over my letter, darling?
 A: I have, it's ready.
 S: Let's wait until this chaos is over, and then let's also give him a ring.

(Ext. 8, p. 250, lines 12-15)

In this example, the chances are that A has produced the first turn with no intention other than doing a little bit of nagging so as to get a little bit

of sympathy from the husband, but he, in return, feels that an excuse is coming up, and checks the conditions to see if 'being involved with the boy's preparations the whole day' has in any way prevented the wife from carrying out a more urgent function. It becomes obvious in the third turn that, since A has done the letter, the first line cannot be an excuse, but as soon as a more important topic finds its way 'naturally' into the conversation, the one of secondary importance, namely, the preparations for the boy' is swept aside, leaving the analyst with little evidence to claim that it was a troubles-telling in the first place.¹⁰

A similar occurrence is observed by Jefferson and Lee (1981):

John: I just called to make sure you were you know, (0.2) 'hh
I didn't know whether you'd gone to work or what you
know.

Marcia: [I was going to go: to wor:k,hh hhhh I got a:fter you
left I thought well I'll eat some breakfast and then I
will go: to wor:k,hh
(0.3)

Marcia: 'hhhhh A:nd so: I: ate a muffin?hh 'hhhhh and cheese,
hh (0.7) 'hhhhh A:nd then I went to the bathroom?
(1.5) 't 'hhh There was,h (1.6) a:nd I had a spoonful of
cereal,

John: Mm hm,

Marcia: → hh And then I got a real bad stomach ache.
(1.7)

Marcia: Like (.) when: (.) someone tied a knot in my stomach.
(0.2)

Marcia: 'hhh So I lay dow:n and the next thing I know it was
eleven o'clo:h-hh

John: heh-heh-heh-heh-heh-hih-hih-heh=

Marcia: =So I didn't go:.

John: Ah,
(0.3)

John: → No that's: okay,
(0.5)

John: Mh,
(1.2)

John: They can get along without you for a day or two,

'I got a real bad stomach ache' occurs, the authors argue, in the middle of 'building a case for all good intentions to go to work, and the absence from work as warranted; i.e. an 'excuse'.¹¹ On its occurrence, the event may be specifically offered as a trouble but it is not received as such, and is re-embedded into the ongoing production as an 'excuse', which eventually, is received and accepted as such' (p. 403). The probability that 'I got a real bad stomach ache' has been issued as a troubles-telling can be considered more seriously because of the pauses Marcia allows after the production of 'I got a real bad stomach ache' (1.7), and the extension of it in the next line, 'Like (.) when (.) someone tied a knot in my stomach' (0.2). Given that the reporting of an excuse has not been completed, why is the teller producing gaps, if not for some kind of a sympathetic evaluation of the trouble to be inserted in?

On the other hand, there is one issue here for our consideration, and that is to do with the nature and amount of information that people have the right or obligation to receive. The group of people whose rights are restricted like that are called 'improper conversationalists' by Sacks (1975b). These rights regulate what information needs to be released, for example, to a doctor or a priest as compared to what should be held within the family or among close friends [see also (v) in Introduction]. In that respect, John's rights at this specific point in the conversation may have been restricted in such a way that although he still has the right to know Marcia's reasons for her absence from work, her inner state is 'none of his business'. And despite the possibility that Marcia is making a bid to tell a trouble, John may have the right to ignore it. Whatever the situation is, the observers have no other choice but to follow what is available in the sequence especially when John's reciprocity has not been criticized by Marcia with something like 'I'm telling you how poorly I had been feeling and you are carrying on as if being at work is more important.'

Coming back to the question of how conversational partners assess one another's contribution in the talk, and having seen that the first part producer recognizes his partner's move because of the relevance that it holds to the first part of the adjacency pair, we have now reached the thorny area of answering how the second speaker recognizes the first part. If the adjacency pair is inserted within another pair, of course, there is not a substantial difficulty in interpretation, as *insertion sequences* and *side sequences* do still hold a relevance to the pair into which they are inserted. For example:

(Fabricated)

| | | | | |
|----------------------|---|--|---|----------------------|
| 1 st pair | [| A: Why don't you come and see me sometimes |] | 2 nd pair |
| | | B: Are you at home most of | | |
| | | the day? | | |
| | | A: Yes. | | |
| | | B: Well, I can pop in tomorrow morning for a | | |
| | | cup of coffee. | | |

At the completion point of the first part of the inserted pair, i.e.

A: Why don't you come and see me sometimes
 B: Are you at home most of the day

Speaker A will recognize Speaker B's contribution as 'hold on, before I can accept your invitation, let me know what sort of times you are free' kind of a response. But, how does Speaker B understand that the first part of the first pair is an invitation in the first place, if it has no sequential connection to what has gone on prior to its initiation? Heritage's (1984b) answer is this:

"the above observations concerning the way a turn's talk displays an analysis, appreciation or understanding of a prior turn do not simply apply to the responses or 'reactive' second utterances with which we have been primarily concerned... They also apply to 'first' or initiatory actions of various sorts which, in their own various ways, also display analysis of the 'state of the talk'. For example, a speaker who initiates a pre-closing... exhibits an

analysis that 'there and then' is an appropriate place for that to occur. Moreover, the manner in which the pre-closing is begun will itself display a variety of sensitiveness to the conversational context."

(p. 259)

What Heritage is saying here is that in the overall organisation of conversation there are certain sections in which appropriate actions can be done, and speakers do these actions by displaying their decision that that particular moment has come. For example, the 'passes' people produce before the closure of the conversation, the kind of 'O.K.'s, indicate that there is no more to be said, and upon their completion, farewell bids can be exchanged:

A: O.K.
B: O.K.
A: Bye Bye
B: Bye.

(Schegloff and Sacks, 1975, p. 256)

This analysis, however, raises the following issues which it is unable to satisfy: So far, only three sections in the conversation have been suggested: (i) the opening section, (ii) the closing section, and (iii) the section in between these two. After research, it has become clear that the actions done in the opening and closing sections of the conversation, as compared to what takes place in the mid-course, are minimal. The majority of conversational acts are performed in the middle section, and not all are initiated with a pre-sequence turn such as 'What are you doing tonight?' before an invitation. How do speakers, then, recognise any one act as being one and not others among a vast range of possibilities? Does this suggest that there are even further divisions, sub-parts in the middle section?¹² In the event of the recipient not recognizing an act, does it mean that the speaker has used a wrong slot for his action? Furthermore, if recognition is so dependent on the other speaker's right judgement of 'there and then', what is the secret of understanding the 'delayed' actions which occur not in their 'appropriate section' but at a

somewhat later stage. The late occurrence is signalled by items like 'incidentally' or 'Oh, by the way' (Schegloff and Sacks, 1975, p. 258), but such items do not indicate in which section the action they accompany should have occurred instead. Despite the misplacement of the action, the recipient can still understand it.¹³

2.2.2 Recognitional procedure adopted

To see how the above issues have been avoided, we would now like to turn to another ethnomethodological study carried out by Turner (1976) who analyses a sequence taken from a therapy session. In this work, Turner explains the procedure pursued by himself in the recognition of a complaint. The material under scrutiny originally comes from The First Five Minutes: A Sample of Microscopic Interview Analysis (Pittenger et. al., 1960):

- | | | |
|----|----|---|
| | T1 | Will you sit there? What brings you here? |
| —> | P2 | Everything's wrong. I get so irritable, tense, depressed. Just everything and everybody gets on my nerves. |
| | T3 | Yeah. |
| | P3 | I don't feel like talking, right now. |
| | T4 | You don't? Do you sometimes. |
| —> | P4 | 'T's the trouble, I get too wound up. 'F I get started I'm all right |
| | T5 | Yeah? Well, perhaps you will. |
| | P5 | May I smoke? |
| | T6 | Sure. What do you do? |
| | P6 | I'm a nurse, but my husband won't let me work. |
| | T7 | How old are you? |
| | P7 | Thirty-one, this December. |
| | T8 | What do you mean, he won't let you work? [Clears throat] |

(p.234)

Following Pittenger et. al., Turner proposes that 'I'm a nurse, but my husband won't let me work' is a 'real complaint invested with real annoyance, misery, and resentment' (p. 235). He arrives at this conclusion after taking two points into consideration:

a) The first one is to do with sequential expectations. In T1, Therapist directs an eliciting move to Patient with 'What brings you here?' As 'here' is a clinic and the person asking the question is the therapist, 'What brings you here' cannot function as a phatic question produced with the intention of making 'small talk'; but 'has a peculiar force, by virtue of the fact that this is an occasion for the diagnosis and assessment of the patient as a candidate clinic patient' (p. 242). Given the circumstances, any subsequent talk by the patient will be heard as a complaint or a series of complaints. In P2 however, as a result of getting 'too wound up', Patient does not produce a complaint but a prelude which foretells that the complaint is imminent (see our analyses of pre-troubles-tellings). With this sequential background, 'I'm a nurse but my husband won't let me work' becomes the first opportunity to produce the reason (or one of the reasons) for her psychological disturbance mentioned in P2.

b) Having first drawn the attention to the sequential positioning of P6, Turner then analyses the complaint internally, i.e. through its content. Conventionally, he argues, there is a class of activities for which an individual or a group of people, need permission to perform. These activities are collected under the heading permissibles. In contrast, non-permissibles are the activities that one does not need permission for. Within the same social structure, there is a class of people who can give permission for the permissibles, and they are called responsibles. In this analytical machinery, 'work' is designated as a permissible, and 'the husband' as the responsible. The complaining aspect of the utterance, however, derives not from the fact that Patient is prohibited by a responsible from doing a permissible, but from the fact that the categories are wrongly designated: i.e. work should be a non-permissible for an adult member of a society, and husband should not be a responsible for the permission to work. In other words, in the same context and the same sequential position an answer in the form of 'I'm a nurse but my doctor won't let me work', with its reference to an unquestionable

responsible for health matters, would not have been a complaint but a disclosure of information indicating that there were serious health reasons for the patient not to work. Wootton (1975) criticizes Turner for making his 'machinery' too limited to answer for a variety of complaints. Although the chosen categories (i.e. 'doctor' as a responsible for health matters and 'husband' as a non-responsible for wife's work) allow the analysis viability, how an utterance without such categories can still be heard as a complaint remains unanswered. Our suggestion is that an exchange like:

- A: What do you do?
 B: I'm a nurse but I'm not allowed to work

can be heard as a complaint because it discloses a situation in which the speaker's wishes are obstructed (i.e. 'I'm not allowed to work' as stands in contrast to 'I don't work'). In other words, in recognizing a conversational act, its content analysis is as important as its sequential location.

In the light of all these, we should like to propose the following extensions to Heritage's (1984b) approach:

Turn 1 - Speaker A produces —> First Part of the Adjacency Pair

Turn 2 - Speaker B produces —> Second part of the Adjacency Pair

Turn 3 - Speaker A produces —> Correction if necessary

Speaker A understands the second part because of the relevance it holds to the first part. Speaker B, having evaluated the content, placement in the overall structure of the conversation, and any features displayed by Speaker A for the recognition of the first part, only makes a guess, and the credibility of it can then be checked in the third turn.

Following from this, the procedure that is available to the analyst is:

- STEP 1: Collect the samples of the first part using the same criteria as Speaker B does.
- STEP 2: Classify the first parts into different groups according to the second parts that follow them. The base for the classification will be conditional relevance, the knowledge of which is as much retained by the analyst (provided that he shares the same conversational rules) as by the speakers.
- STEP 3: Check the third position of these under examination to make sure that the first parts are recognized correctly by the recipients of them.

Our approach has thus been a sceptical one, starting with uncertainty and moving towards certainty. We collected all utterances from the welfare enquiry section of the conversational openings, or from those instances where a new complaint was started following on from an old one, all of which, content and featurewise (if there had been any) were possible complaints. Then, we grouped them on the basis of the responses that they received:

(a) 1. possible complaints

2. complaint responses

A: Kerem's ill, Kerem's ill today.
 S: A:: shame! What, is it something like flu?

(Ext. 5, p. 242, lines 2-3)

(b) 1. possible complaints

2. rebuke responses

S: I suppose the bus does not come here on Sundays-
 I waited for a while at the bus-stop=
 A: =Oh dear, I wish I had told you that (before) No : ,
 it doesn't.

(Ext. 12, p. 258, lines 1-2)

(c) 1. possible complaints

2. apology responses

N: .hhh we came to Halide Hanim's house with a child
who's circumcised, with another child who's not
circumcised, with this and that

H: A::, I'm offended (by that)¹⁴

(Ext. 14, pp. 271-2, lines 38-39)

Having accumulated the possible complaints with complaint responses, a further check has then be carried out in the third turn to make sure that there are no corrections made in that position:

A: Kerem's ill, Kerem's ill today.

S: A::shamel What, is it something like flu?

A: Something like it, yes. I think it's flu. Sinan wasn't well
yesterday, he got up, Kerem's gone down.

(Ext. 5, p. 242, lines 2-4)

In those cases where the relationship between the possible complaint and the following move was not easily identifiable, the complaint turned out to be closing a sequence rather than starting a new one, and as a result of its relevance to the prior turn, was accomplishing tasks other than simply passing on information on personal matters.¹⁵ An example is:

[referring to her son who is quietly sitting beside her]

S: He came up to play with, whatsit (.) with Kerem but

A: What a pity! He's sleeping, he's been exhausted with a high
temperature, he's sleeping.

S: [still referring to her son] He's seen Kerem at our place and
liked him=

A: =Sure, sure.

(Ext. 5, p. 243-4, lines 16-19)

In this example, the reason why the references to the child's 'being in bed, being exhausted and having a high temperature' slip by unattended is that the utterance which they are embedded in serves the purpose of justifying why he cannot play with the neighbour's son. This relevance to the

prior request, therefore, changes its status from a genuine complaint to a rejection of the request. Such occurrences, too, have been excluded from the observational range of this study.

On closer inspection, it became apparent that the relevant responses to complaints were analyzable into three groups: those which acknowledge the complaint sympathetically (Ch. 3), those which accommodate ideas, directions, suggestions for the elimination of the trouble (Ch. 4), and those which express consolation in one form or another (Ch. 5). However, it also became apparent that, despite this classification, in a number of cases the troubles-telling and the immediate response to it did not form a strict adjacency pair, and that troubles-telling was continuing even after the relevant response.

This urged us to widen the angle of our interest from an adjacency pair to a larger sequence and to look for the regularities within this continuity which we call 'troubles-talk'.

2.2.3 Drawing the boundaries of troubles-talk

It has already been mentioned that troubles-talk is an unspecified number of exchanges and that troubles-telling is the starting point of this talk. How this section in the conversation is terminated or merged into another section and also some of the features occurring in this section will be the concern of Chapters 3, 4, and 5. We are aware that by calling this part within the conversation 'troubles-talk' we are drawing a conceptual circle around it and to be able to defend its boundaries, we have to state here what we think is enclosed in it. This inevitably brings us to the area of 'topic'.

As soon as one turns in this direction one realizes the flimsiness of academic interest in the field, a fact which echoes through various writings. For example, Keenan and Schaeffelin (1976) claim that 'there has been no systematic study in linguistics of the ways in which topics are initiated,

sustained, and/or dropped in naturally occurring discourse' (p. 337). Hurtig (1977) reports that there is no fully articulated theory of topics. Sigman (1983) complains that 'topic' has long been neglected while other components of interaction have been receiving considerable attention.

This vacuum is possibly the result of the fact that 'topic' is a very difficult notion to mould into a matrix which can then account for the maintenance or change of topic. Heritage's (forthcoming) evaluation is that these two are 'exceptionally complex matters' and 'there are no simple routes to the examination of topic flow' (p. 12).

However, there have already been some attempts in the literature to formulate topic. While some look for it in the cohesion within the linearity of sentences (Halliday and Hasan, 1976), or in texts (van Dijk, 1980), others look for it in conversation (Schank, 1977) and in conversational activities (Levinson and Owen, 1981).

One notable attempt is by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) who draw the boundaries of topic as coinciding with the minimal discourse structure of class-room interaction: initiating move (I) by the teacher, responding move (R) by the pupil, and an optional feedback (F) move by the teacher again.

Example:

I₁ Teacher: Can you tell me why do you eat all that food? Yes.
 R Pupil: To keep you strong.
 F Teacher: To keep you strong. Yes. To keep you strong.
 I₂ Teacher: Why do you want to be strong?

(p. 21)

The first topic is closed with the feedback move and a new topic is initiated with I₂.

While the analysis seems to work for this specific context, Sinclair and Coulthard agree that their results are inapplicable to normal conversation

'where changes of topic are unpredictable... participants are of equal status and have equal rights to determine the topic' (p. 4).¹⁶

Others draw the boundaries of topic in terms of shared referentiality or pre-supposition. For example Keenan and Schaeffelin's (1976) definition of it is: 'successful co-operation in establishing referents on a proposition (or sets of propositions) about which the speaker is either providing or requesting new information (p. 338). In a 4-part exchange like:

- 4a Allison: [looks in box, finding calf] cow/
- 4b Mother: A cow!
- 4c Allison: [holding calf] moo/
- 4d Mother: Moo, cow says moo.

(p. 341)

Coherence is said to be maintained in the first two utterances because both 'provide new information relevant to an object Allison is attending to, the new information being that the object that Allison has noticed is 'a cow'. Like-wise, utterances in 4c and 4d appear to address the same discourse topic, i.e. 'the cow (Allison is holding) makes some sound'. Allison provides the information that the cow makes the sound 'moo' and her mother confirms this claim in her subsequent utterance' (p. 341).

For collaborating on the topic, therefore, the concern has to be on the same referent (cow) and/or same set/s of pre-suppositions that can be associated with them (cow makes some sound).

Similarly, but more crudely Goldberg (1983) defines topic as the shared referents across the utterances and proposes that the parts of the exchange in:

- A: John bought a new car today
- B: It is a red Mustang convertible

are topically tied because in both the same referent (a new car) is maintained, but

- A: John bought a new car today
 B: Alligators have green feet

(p. 34)

lack this binding concept and therefore do not retain the same topic.

Levinson (1983) criticizes such an approach by giving an example from Sacks and claiming that the same referent does not guarantee topicality across utterances, just as 'shaving' here fails to hold the last two turns together under the same topic:

- A: God any more hair on muh chest an' I'd be a fuzz boy.
 B: Y'd be a what.
 C: A//fuzz boy.
 A: Fuzz boy.
 B: What's that.
 A: Fuzz mop.
 C: Then you'd have t'start shaving.
 (0.1)
 B: Hey I shaved this morni- I mean last night for you.

(p. 314)

As for pre-suppositions, this concept is not very reliable either, because for any two utterances one can invent a super-ordinate set of pre-suppositions. Moreover, Levinson says:

'Topical coherence cannot be thought of as residing in some independently calculable procedure for ascertaining... shared reference across utterances. Rather, topical coherence is something constructed across turns by the collaboration of participants. What needs then to be studied is how potential topics are introduced, and collaboratively ratified, how they are marked as 'new', 'touched off', 'misplaced', and so on, how they are avoided or competed over, and how they are collaboratively closed down'.

(p. 315)

The advice to the linguist is to take the real life situations individually and analyze how topic is treated there, instead of devising a topic-detector applicable to all conversational probabilities.

Under this guidance, and in absence of any sound theoretical backing we return to our own resources and for the purpose of this investigation draw the boundaries of our material as 'a piece of talk which revolves around the trouble of the teller and continues as long as the recipient deals with the implications of the troubles-telling'. It is hoped that by the end of this thesis it will become clear that topic, in troubles-talk, is closely related to the interactional imbalance created by troubles-telling, and can change after this imbalance has been repaired.

2.3 Presentation of Data

When it is a different language that the conversation is based on and a different culture that provides the background, extra information like where, when and why the conversation is taking place, who the conversationalists are, what they are talking about, etc. may, at times, become essential for a reader. With this need in mind, we have provided contextual explanations in the Appendix for each extract to the extent that we thought would be adequate for easy interpretation.

Apart from contextual explanations, provision has been made within the body of the text for culturally alien concepts, facts, customs, and items. Thus, explanations on matters such as what a circumcised child would wear after the operation, or what educational procedure one has to go through in order to get a place at university, if they are estimated to be essential for the correct interpretation of the speech, have been integrated into the corpus of the work for the benefit of the reader who is not familiar with the culture and may need this type of extra information for getting to grips with the conversation.

Still assuming that the reader does not know any Turkish, the assessment of this work will heavily depend on the translation of the Turkish

passages presented. We agree with Nida (1975) who says that translation always involves a certain amount of loss and distortion and have taken measures so that a closer inspection of the source language is available. Moerman's (1972) analysis of Lue Conversation provides us with an example of how this task can be accomplished. His text under observation consists of 66 sentences of varying grammatical structure and for each lexical item in them he meticulously provides the English translation:

| | | | | | |
|--------|---|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| VIII.1 | ¹ ĕ.ŵ | ² phôb | ³ kǎ-t | ⁴ pŭr | ⁵ ɛ |
| | ŵ | visit | all over | market | D PRT |
| | (So) [She] (must have just) went visiting around the market | | | | |
| | (p. 212) | | | | |

Natural data take a snap-shot of most of the fine details that other methods like intuitively constructed data, note-taking, questionnaires, etc. fail to capture. As these details are produced by the conversationalists for some interactional purpose, from the analytical point of view it is of vital importance not to miss them.¹⁷ For this reason, we have not 'cleaned up' the data and things like repetitions, false starts, hesitation sounds, pauses, etc. are still observable in the original text.

Finally, a baffling issue arose with respect to the amount of data needed for making the points. We are disinclined to restrict ourselves to one example at a time for the reason that what is found to be happening in one context may be that-context-specific, may be an exception, and therefore, may not be a recurrent feature. On the other hand, the need to provide explanatory notes, plus translated versions of the data (both impressionistic and literal) within a restricted space, calls for serious moderation. For reasons of practicality each point will be supported with a minimum number of

examples but not one, coming from a cross-section of backgrounds, i.e. different speakers, different setting, different trouble, etc.

In transcribing data we have mainly used the notational system developed by G. Jefferson.

A key on the pronunciation characteristics of the Turkish alphabet is also presented in the Appendix.

NOTES

1. In some extracts reference is made to this period as 'Bayram' which comes right after the month of Ramadan.

2. Even in the natural data collection circumstances, the analysts' contributions, no matter how unnoticeable they may be to the other conversationalists, can exercise a control over the flow of the talk. If such contributions are then used as a part of the data, this may additionally raise questions about the 'innocence' involved in their production. In my case, I was in a situation to exercise neither dominance nor manipulation: most of the recordings were done during my 3-week visit to my parents-in-law's house, and while either entertaining their visitors or being entertained by the friends/neighbours/relatives of my mother-in-law. Not only was I a stranger to the community and had to stay out of most of the interaction, but also, to abide by the Turkish social rules, I had to keep a low profile as a 'good daughter-in-law'. On the occasions when I joined in the conversation, no conscious effort or ulterior motive was involved on my part, nor are the few samples of my speech included here those standing in contrast to the recurrent patterns produced by the other 45 participants.

Furthermore, as I decided to work on troubles-talk after I had done the recording, I was not in a position to influence the data in any case.

3. For instance, Heath (1987) working on body movements, Erickson (1982) on contact with contextual objects, Schegloff (1984) on gestures, Goodwin (1979, 1981) on gaze direction demonstrate the extent of the contribution these make to an analysis of conversation.

4. There may be sub-types for this one depending on the relationship between Third Party and Speaker, as news about a Third Party who is very close to Speaker is treated as in type (a).

5. Some of the maledictions in the Turkish language, as compiled in a folkloric study (Basgoz, 1971) may display the sort of troubles that have a strong hold in this culture: (1) Catch an incurable disease, (2) Go and never return, (3) Become crippled and crawl on your knees, (4) Find no happiness in your children, (5) May your home be like hell, (6) May your one not be doubled, (7) May you be destroyed in your strength, and cut off like a young branch in your youth, (8) May you become great and well-established but as you enter into full happiness, may grief overtake you, (9) When you are still young like a bud, let death take you, (10) I hope to God that you get a bald wife, blind in one eye, lame in one leg, (11) May you never rock a cradle or sing a lullaby, (12) May you always chase after food like a greyhound pursuing a rabbit, (13) May you spend your life in courts and hospitals, and (14) May you not have a family (pp. 54-55).

6. How visual clues signal 'trouble' is apparent in the following extract:

Doctor: So how you doing today Joseph
 Patient: Not so good doct//or
 Doctor: Not so good. I see you kinda hangin' your head low there
 Patient: Yeah
 Doctor: Must be something up (.) or down I should say. Are you feeling down?

(Treichler et. al., p. 81)

7. Possibly the same holds for English although sometimes one gets 'I suppose you haven't heard/ Have you already heard that...' type of pre-sequences preceding announcement of major troubles or troubles which the addressee has the right to know. If neither is the case, then using this kind of

pre-troubles-telling will be presumptuous (R. Harris, personal communication).

8. In 'Everyone has to lie' Sacks (1975) proposes the same thing for the negatively valued state descriptors like 'lousy' and 'rotten', which, should they occur after enquiries, will trigger a 'diagnostic sequence', launched by a question 'Why?', or 'What's the matter?' (p. 70)

9. Owen (1983) provides a similar example. An utterance like 'I should have received a report form for a supervisee whom I teach and I haven't had one', in isolation, will tell us that the speaker's expectations are not fulfilled, and under such conditions one is bound to feel disappointment and annoyance. Put in context, it becomes clear that there are other circumstances which are not open to an observer:

M: I should have received a report form for a supervisee whom I
teach and I haven't had one.
W: Oh sorry.

(p. 52)

Although it is possible to claim that what M is referring to here is reason enough for annoyance, the crucial point is that the addressee is the culpable one.

On the same point Sacks, (19/2/71), too, gives an example which shows that some of the meaning in utterances is determined by who is producing it: Frank takes Portia to a restaurant but they soon discover that it lacks satisfactory hygiene. If a comment on this comes from Portia it will be heard as her complaint to Frank for taking her there. On the other hand, if Frank makes the same comment, it will be heard as his apology to Portia (pp. 11-12).

10. Schegloff and Sacks (1975) comment on the tendency in conversation of waiting for a convenient moment to arrive so that a certain mentionable can be introduced. 'There is, however, no guarantee that the course of the conversation will provide the occasion for any particular 'mentionable' to 'come up naturally' (p. 245). As a result of this, a speaker may use the rare opportunity as soon as it is seized even at the expense of discontinuing an already established topic or breaking conditional relevance.

11. The fact that a complaint can be used as an excuse or a justification has already been observed by Sacks (LN, 8/1/1969, p. 16) who gives the example of someone starting a complaint on the current high prices in response to a warning, 'Hey, you have a hole in your shoe'. No matter how sincerely the speaker may be complaining about the expenses, because the complaint follows such a prior, his articulation will be interpreted as a justification for not having decent shoes.

12. There are suggestions for further and more numerous divisions in conversation. For example, Ventola (1979) claims that there are seven stages that the conversation passes through, (1) greeting, (2) approach (to establish the relationship with a safe topic like health or weather, etc.), (3) address (establishing social distance and the position of power and solidarity), (4) identification of self (if partners are strangers), (5) centring (on cognitive and informative subject matters), (6) pre-closing, and (7) formulaic good-byes. Despite the number of divisions in such analytical work, the bulk of the conversation again falls into one category, for instance, number (5) in this one.

13. Keenan and Schaeffelin (1976) also report that Wosco Chinook Indians speaking English, do not necessarily expect each turn in a conversation to be

relevant to an immediately prior turn. Speakers often provide a relevant response to some propositions long after the proposition first appeared in the discourse without marking it in any overt way, and presumably this does not cause them any difficulty in utterance recognition (p. 347).

14. 'Askolsun' which is translated as 'I am offended (by that)' is one of the set responses to an apology in Turkish.

15. An example of this is found in Manes and Wolfson (1981):

- S: That's s really a nice shirt you're wearing.
 A: Oh, and I had so much trouble trying to decide what to wear
 this morning.

(p. 126)

The authors report that this exchange constitutes an entire speech event between two colleagues who are passing one another in the hall. The reason why the mentioning of troubles does not trigger further talk in this context is because the announcement of troubles here functions to restore the balance which has been impaired by the compliment.

16. Similar studies displayed different discourse structures for a variety of formal contexts. E.g. Pearce (1973) finds that broadcast interviews have four part exchanges, obligatory initiations and responses preceding optional preparatory moves, Stubbs (1973) investigates committee meetings which are based on two part exchanges: initiations and feedback. Coulthard, Montgomery and Brazil (1981) report that in a medical encounter Doctor/Patient exchanges take the form of I/R/FFF where feedback moves are noticeably numerous. Brenner (1981) on the other hand, finds that I/R(F) which is the typical exchange structure for class-room interaction, is also common in the probing process of the research interviews.

17. Sensitivity in Conversational Analysis in presenting data as close as possible to how the conversation actually happens in the speech situation leads to revelations of interactional features which had been ignored in the past, like how people organize laughter in conversation (Jefferson 1979, 1984b), how they invite applause in public speeches (Atkinson, 1984), how they regulate their pauses (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1978) or lengthen their utterances until they receive the gaze of the recipient (Goodwin, 1979, 1981) etc.

CHAPTER 3: ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF TROUBLE

3.0 Introduction

What happens after someone decides to disclose a personal problem, what options are open to the other speaker in this position, what is the next piece that can successfully continue the order of the interaction?

Surely, there can be any number of things that can happen after troubles-telling, but can anything happening fit into this slot? Sacks does not believe so:

'in a telephone call, announcing that somebody died what sorts of answers would be appropriate and how would they vary? It is not a 'style' of a person, or a free choice of which one to pick and there are clearly things that seem hardly different which one just would not dream of doing'.

(LN 14/21/67, p. 6)

To see what is suitable and what is not for the reciprocity of troubles-telling, one needs to remember the kind of situation the teller is putting himself in with the disclosure of a trouble: on the one hand, he is acting as an enthusiastic participant in the interaction, offering a new topic for the talk and expecting the other to join in the activity. On the other hand, because of the contents of his topic proposal, he is exhibiting his weaknesses.

This should create a dilemma for the recipient. Is he to offer interest in the case and hear more about it, or is he to stop the teller damaging his face any further? Is he to carry on with the talk enthusiastically or is he to close it diplomatically? In this chapter we shall see how the recipients manage to get

out of this difficult position, and also the consequences of their decision for the development of the sequence and the topic.

3.1 Trouble as topic proposal

When a trouble is introduced into the talk it disrupts whatever has been going on previously and becomes the next talkable subject. Sacks comments on the phenomenon:

"There is a way in which the production of a complaint can free the talk from what the talk has priorly been. The complaint itself now becomes a topic. So that, for example, there are a range of ways that, a complaint having been made, the course of the talk can be siphoned into dealing with the fact of a complaint."

(LN, 13 Oct. 1971, p. 5)

This is what we see happening in the following example:

- Louise: ... another thing is that we had three drivers
changing off. That means you c'n keep up a steady
pace an' you only have one person,
Ken: I drove- I drove my Jeep the whole way up there by
myself, loaded down, with a- with a boat, an' trailer. -
(1.0) - I - I made pretty good time, but it's // tiresome.
—→ Louise. But it was one pers- yeah it's tire//some
Ken: Ohh it's tiresome...

(Jefferson, 1973, p. 85)

The intention on the part of the second speaker to get on with a previous topic as evident in 'But it was one pers-' gets blocked by the other speaker's last remark on the negative aspects of his journey. The recipient realizes this and attends to the complaint at the expense of discontinuing his already launched topic pursuit.

Turning to our own resources, we find exactly the same happening in Turkish contexts. With one exception (e.g. Ext. 15, p. 273, lines 6-7), all the examples in the data are instances where the recipient complies with the topic proposal of the other speaker:

A: You're well?
(0.1)

K: I'm trying to cope with an illness.

—> A: What's that? What sort of an illness?

(Ext. 6, p. 244, lines 3-5)

A: Are you tired?

S: I feel very frustrated
(1.0)

—> A: Why, what happened?

(Ext. 8, p. 249, lines 1-3)

[silence prevails for 2 mins. as the speakers are eating]

S: I miss meals like this in the evenings. For supper every evening it's fish and chips, every evening it's fish and chips, without fail=

—> A: =Come off it!

S: I swear.

A: Well then, isn't there anything (else) to eat? Eat other things.

(Ext. 9, p. 253, lines 8-11)

N: How's everything?

S: I am angry. I phoned (them) (.). Apparently we couldn't get it.

—> N: You don't say!

S: 'If it's going to be a consolation for you' they said

K: Ye-es? =

(Ext. 13, p. 261, lines 1-5)

[the talk has been about the excessive heat]

S: It's impossible to keep the windows closed. Selim says 'Open them or I will suffocate'. Then of course the flies flock in. I can't tell you how many mosquitoes, how many mosquitoes we have at night.
(0.2)

—> A: Well then, do the thingumbob, how do they call it, you know, make a mosquito-net or something over the bed=

(Ext. 12, p. 259, lines 3-4)

- K: Ahmet doesn't help at all, Ahmet has changed a lot this year.
 —→ A: Well, it's the age of puberty
 K: He went up onto the roof. ...

(Ext. 6, p. 246, lines 20-22)

All these examples indicate that once a trouble is told, it has to go through a certain process. The absence of topic changers like 'Do you know what I've heard about mosquitoes recently', after complaints about mosquitoes, cannot be pure coincidence and could be explained as follows: the subject of trouble is difficult to ignore because otherwise the teller's face damage will be ignored, and if the teller's face damage is ignored, this will raise a number of questions about the competence of the recipient as a conversational partner. It is also a matter of the teller making a demand for sympathy and exposing himself to the risk of rejection, and a change of topic at this point will be an additional injury to his face.

The priority the complaints establish over other things can perhaps be better observed in an example where it is ignored or undermined for no apparent reason. In the next extract we see this happening when two speakers are opting for different topics until the complaint proves its stronger candidacy for becoming the next accepted topic in conversation:

[M and S are talking in S's house and in the presence of her mother who is a senile lady with hearing difficulties]

- M: Her health is in good shape, praise God.
 S: Whose (.) My mother's?
 M: Yes.
 S: Now, my mother
 M: It looks as if she's put on some weight
 S: The thing is, she's depressed
 M: she's possibly gained some weight recently.
 S: It may well be so but, she's bored. She can't go out, no one is in the state of mind (.) to talk to her either. Because she's bored, she gets ILL, you know
 M: Of course
 S: She gets ill.
 M: Remember how Kerem says 'I'm bored' .hhh
 S: Hahh hahh ha :

(Ext. 15, p. 272-3, lines 1-12)

The interests in establishing a new topic collide because while M wants to make a compliment about the old lady's physical appearance, S is determined to bring in her psychological decline as the new topic.¹ Speaker S's disinclination to talk about the positive aspects is apparent even in the second turn where she displays doubt about whose health is being talked about after a praising comment:

- M: her health is in good shape, praise God
 S: Whose (.) My mother's?

Once the referent becomes clear, rather than showing agreement with the assessment expressed in the first turn, S makes an attempt to start a new utterance, 'Now, my mother-'. Possibly because of the absence of an agreement, M extends her first assessment of 'good health' and brings up the visible clues which led her to make this assessment, 'It looks as if she's put on some weight', and similarly cuts in on the next non-agreement, 'The thing is-' with more extensions, 'She's possibly gained some weight recently'. S's insistence on not talking about the good health, however, becomes inescapable when she sweeps M's comments aside with 'It may well be so but-'. It is already known from Sacks' comments that bad events have got a better chance of becoming the next topic in the talk as compared to good events, and this is exactly what is happening here.² With 'That may well be so' Speaker S establishes the supremacy of the complaint over the pleasantries, the primacy of talking about the psychological aspects of the mother's health instead of her 'putting on weight'. However, it must be noted here that the initiative to talk about the trouble has to come from the teller himself. As it happens, he may not be willing to make his miseries public and may disclaim the problem. E.g.:

- A: You look tired.
B: I feel fine.

(Richards and Schmidt 1983, p. 141)

Although complaints do not always go through a difficult phase of competition with other matters for topicality, nonetheless, there are certain subtleties built into their organisation which secure their attractiveness as a topical bait. One of these is lining up the facts in such a way that the complainable is placed at the end of the turn and therefore is in an exposed position. Teresaki's comments on the same point are supported by this example:

- A: So, Elizabeth'n Willy were s'poze tuh come down las'night but
(there was a death'n the family) so they couldn' come so Guy's
asked Dan tuh play with the comp'ny deal, so I guess he c'n
play with'im. So,
B. Oh good.

'the news of the death is not remarked on while the news that the golf game will take place is received as assessable news. Our suggestion is that a major factor in the recognition of announcements by speakers... resides... in the organization of their presentation in the talk.'

(1976, p. 6)

However, at this point it is worth remembering a remark made earlier: troubles-telling can be used in talk not for the sake of telling a trouble but as an explanatory background to another occurrence. An example of 'Marcia not going to work' has already been quoted from Jefferson and Lee (p. 67). Another example is the feverish, exhausted child who is in bed and therefore cannot play with the neighbour's son (p. 75). In Teresaki's example above, why the news about 'death in the family' does not attract immediate attention seems to be due to the same reason: the news stands as an explanation for an unexpected situation (why 'Elizabeth and Willy... couldn't come'). (Additionally one can assume that the deceased in Elizabeth and Willy's family was perhaps not close enough to the reporter to justify a sudden topic

change). It is therefore important not to confuse a troubles-reporting sequence with a sequence in which troubles-telling is used as an 'excuse'. Despite all this, there is enough evidence in the Turkish data to support the point made by Teresaki that bad news should be presented in a special way to secure the right response. In the next two news-reporting-sequences, recorded with a gap of two days in between, we see how the presentation of news is organized:

- M: Is Kerem alright?
 —→ A: He's better, very, I mean he's not completely well, but he's gradually getting better.
 (.)
 M: Good.
[Change of topic]

(Ext. 15, p. 274, lines 14-16)

- S: How is (he), how is Kerem?
 —→ A: Kerem's ill, Kerem's ill today.
 S: A:: shame! What, is it something like flu?
[Continuation of topic]

(Ext. 5, p. 242, lines 1-3)

In the first extract it is obvious that the answer 'Good' refers to the fact that the child is 'gradually getting better' and not to the fact that 'he is not completely well'. Thus, a response specifically geared to the trouble becomes irrelevant and out-of-date. In the second extract, however, the recipient has no other choice but to take the trouble up, hence 'Shame'.

If we assume that instead of the way it is presented in the former extract, the teller had organized the turn as 'He's better. I mean, he's gradually getting better, but he's not completely well', the enquiring party would not have been able to produce 'Good' as a response. See, for instance:

- > K: Thank God, I'm not that (bad), but it happens from time to time=
 A: =Ha : ?
 K: That much
 A: So?

(Ext. 6, p. 245, lines 11-14)

In the first turn K's utterance is divided into two parts, the reporting of an almost satisfactory health record and gratitude to God for it (good news), followed by a contrastive conjunction but and disclosure of an illness being experienced occasionally (bad news). A's response is a mixture of sympathy and surprise which is a typical troubles-acknowledgement (see Sec 3.2.1.2.1), and is obviously addressed to the latter part of K's utterance. Similarly, in the next one, only the bad-news end of the reporting invites a response:

- A: He (husband) got up, Kerem (son) has gone down.
 S: May it be past, it will pass.

(Ext. 5, p. 242, lines 4-5)

This means that speakers who have only bad news to announce are on safe ground for topic continuation, but those who have both good and bad news to announce, can ensure further talk on the topic only by placing the bad news after the good, and not the other way round.

A note of caution, though. Good news in final position can be ignored but only if it is produced to intensify the bad news:

- > N: The child has been shaken (by circumcision). He had been such a lively boy (until then).
 H: It coincided with the hot weather. Perhaps that's the reason.

(Ext. 14, p. 269, lines 18-19)

Here, despite the good news taking second place in the sequence, the temporal character is such that its effectiveness ceases with the initiation of the trouble. Sacks (1987b) provides us with an example where we see a troublesome remark taking a second place in the ordering but because of the

same 'the first starts, the second finishes' formula, not being qualified as 'troubles-telling'. Talking about the 'personal calendars' which mark an important occasion in one's life and around which other matters can be tacked, he analyzes a widow's remark, 'That was before I met you, and I was lonely then' (p. 223), not as a troubles-telling but an account of the past. This shows clearly that the attraction of trouble as the next topic lies not only in the order that the facts are presented, but also in the inter-relation and temporal dependency between these facts.

Another attraction for the maintenance of topic can be found in the formulation of the troubles-telling. On this point, reference was made earlier to the tendency to judge the intensity of the complaint by the quantity of words used to express it, and as stated, the more repetitious the teller is in formulating his complaint, the more emotionally upset he would be considered by the recipient. When a complaint is first introduced into the talk, however, there seems to be a preference for formulating it in a single utterance rather than a cluster of utterances. It is only after the first encouragement to proceed that the teller normally produces extensive utterances in one turn, but the intention to unfold the case is present even in the initial utterance:

- K: I'm trying to cope with an illness.
 A: What's that? What sort of an illness?
 K: Well, still, I have survived successfully in this hole, that is, in the basement, in damp places. I've got rheumatism, and stomach-ache. There's an ulcer in my stomach.

(Ext. 6, p. 244, lines 4-6)

- A: Kerem's ill, Kerem's ill today
 S: A:: shame! What, is it something like flu?
 A: Something like it, yes. I think it's flu. Sinan wasn't well yesterday, he got up, Kerem has gone down.

(Ext. 5, p. 242, lines 2-4)

These two examples illustrate how the initial turns are organized in a contracted form so that, once given a 'go-ahead', the complaint can be enlarged easily. For instance, in the first case, instead of simply saying 'I don't feel well' or 'I'm ill', the teller also manages to communicate that, in addition to the illness, there is an extra difficulty as she is 'trying to cope with' it. After being given permission to carry on by, 'What's that, what sort of an illness?' the difficulty turns out to be caused by the poor quality of her surroundings which is not particularly helpful for the series of illnesses she has been experiencing.

Also in 'Kerem's ill, Kerem's ill today', the temporal reference turns out to be functional in the sense that the teller is preparing to build up a case of comparison between 'yesterday' and 'today', of a series of illnesses experienced in succession by two different members of the household. The uncertainty as to the nature of the illness expressed by 'Something like it, I think it's flu' also seems intentional so that, after a couple of turns she can connect the present misery to the fact that the child, in the aftermath of circumcision, is in pain and cannot wear the usual underwear to protect him from the chill.

Again this is something familiar in the English context as the condensed first turn in the next example demonstrates:

- C: had a very active day er
 R: What have you been doing then
 C: Oh um I was up at Blackheath in the morning to buy a Christmas tree (etc).

(from S.C. Levinson's personal collection)

The invitation to topic is given in the word 'active' which summarizes the happenings of the day and can be unfolded as soon as the recipient 'takes the bait'. Such 'catch words' are probably the teller's precaution in not

'boggling down' the other who is not prepared to be a recipient, and function in the same way as pre-sequences.

In summary, a change in topic after troubles-telling does not occur when:

- i) the trouble is the main point in the news announcement sequence and not an explanation of or excuse for some other news,
- ii) the trouble is exposed at the end of the turn,
- iii) more up-to-date good news which results from the trouble is not placed adjacently to the trouble.
- iv) there is an item in the utterance to invite interest, even if the rest of the announcement is not particularly attractive.

The consistency can be attributed to the face damaging effects of troubles-disclosure: to show that he cares, the recipient has to show interest in the trouble, and whether or not he decides to extend the topic, some form of sympathy should be conveyed before the next topic can make its way into the talk.

3.2 Troubles-acknowledgement

In their study on telephone calls to the police desk, Sharrock and Turner (1978) say that 'upon a complaint's completion, a responsive recipient ought to produce an utterance type which is hearable as complaint acknowledgement' (p. 174). Our findings show that this is not exclusively specific to 'licensed complaint recipients', but happens in ordinary conversation as well.

However, the characteristic features of the acknowledgement depend on the social context the complaint is uttered in.³ In formal settings reciprocity is to provide a remedy for the complainable as long as it is a valid one, deserving expert handling. The terms encourage the complainant to

prove his case as being one which requires professional attention, and the recipient to be a judge of the credibility of this. Given the circumstances, it will only make sense for the complaint acknowledgement to be performed in as aloof a manner as possible. In fact, from observations carried out in English speaking formal settings, we know that this is so. While examining power relationships and how these are reflected in speech between a patient and a physician, Treichler et. al. (1984) find that in some cases the complaint acknowledgement may even border on opposition;

Physician: What are you feeling down about?
 Patient: Stomach problems, back problems, side problems
 Physician: Problems problems.
 Patient: Problems and problems.

(p. 62)

The writers suggest that the physician's acknowledgement comes off as an ironic commentary on the patient's list, a commentary which indicates that the problems are multiple and in some sense, not interesting at all. As a counter-response the patient returns the opposition by saying that there are two categories of problems; clearly separated by the conjunctive 'and', while one category may be ignored, the other certainly deserves attention, as denoted by an emphatic stress on the second 'problems'.

The same sort of 'coolness' is also evident in Turner's (1976) example of a therapeutic encounter:

T6: What do you do?
 P6: I'm a nurse, but my husband won't let me work
 T7: How old are you?
 P7: Thirty one, this December
 T8: What do you mean, he won't let you work? [clears throat]

(p 234)

Unlike Pittenger et al (1960) who treat the interrogative 'How old are you?' as a request for information which is inserted in the sequence by the

therapist to gain time for deciding how best he can deal with the complaint in P6, Turner suggests that the same question is an acknowledgement of the complaint, a skillfully constructed base for a forthcoming resistance to trouble. Turner argues that as a questionnaire type of question, 'How old are you?' does not make much sense because the real age of the patient in such a context is immaterial if it does not help the therapist in his classification of the patient either as a 'child' or as an 'adult', but here, the patient, even if her appearance is not a useful clue, at least with her status as a married woman, is already in the ranks of adulthood. 'How old are you?', followed by 'What do you mean he won't let you work?' is a way for the therapist to say 'Surely, you are old enough to be responsible for your own decisions', and a way to indicate that she scarcely has the makings of a complaint.

Coupled with the expert's job of sorting out real complaints from pseudo ones in service encounters, there is also the focusing on the 'complainable' rather than on the 'complainant'. This emerges in the acknowledgement as an indifferent attitude to the troubles-teller and his fringe experiences, Jefferson and Lee (1981) claim. They notice this phenomenon in a more crystallized form while examining the exchange between the emergency ambulance service personnel and various parties phoning on behalf of a stricken person:

"Throughout these conversations there was a general sense of the essential indifference of the service agency to the troubled person who was simply the item being transferred"

(p. 413)

The lack of sympathy in similar official encounters of a medical nature has also caught the attention of Treichler et. al. (1984) who describe the phenomenon in these words:

"It is notable that... the physician gives only minimal responses, mostly he produces token acknowledgements: 'Hum', 'Hmh', and 'I see'. The significance of this pattern lies in the contrast between clinical problem-solving talk... and casual conversation in which trouble or complaint is responded to much more immediately with assessments like 'That's too bad', or 'I'm sorry to hear that', before a solution is offered or searched for. The lack of such responses is a general characteristic of physician-patient discourse and is often attributed to the desire or goal to remain clinically detached or neutral during the data-gathering phase of an encounter."

(p. 69)

In unmarked contexts service-like behaviour creates disturbance in the interaction. Resistance to trouble, which is a common feature of official context acknowledgements, is unacceptable in casual conversation. Such sympathy-lacking behaviour may, in fact, be interpreted as the recipient's suspicion of the complainable. Garfinkel (1967) reports the results of an experiment carried out by his students who studied the ways people reacted when they were subjected to this type of behaviour. One of the examples is:

On Friday night my husband and I were watching television. My husband remarked that he was tired. I asked, "How are you tired? Physically, mentally, or just bored?"

- S: I don't know, I guess physically, mainly.
 E: You mean that your muscles ache or your bones?
 S: I guess so, don't be so technical.

(p. 43)

Subjects in other similar experiments asked counter-questions or made remarks such as 'What a crazy question!', 'What's the matter with you?', 'You know what I mean! Drop dead!', 'Why are you asking me those questions', etc. thus indicating the unacceptability of such behaviour in informal contexts (p. 42).

Sharrock and Turner (1978) say that one of the things that the complaint delivery seeks is 'sympathy' from the recipient. Jefferson's (1984b) analysis of informal conversations also reveals that the recipient has to be troubles-receptive, taking the trouble seriously but sympathetically, even

when the teller exhibits resistance to the trouble and shows that 'it is not getting the better of him, he is managing, he is in good spirits and in a position to take the trouble lightly' (p. 351). Examples taken from various sources demonstrate the validity of these and of Treichler et. al's (1984) predictions about unmarked contexts:

- Emma: It's bleeding just a tiny tiny bit hastuh be dre : ssed, bu t uh
 —→ Nancy: Oh : : : : :
 Emma: Go : d
 it was he : ll. uh hahh! hhh hhh
 —→ Nancy: What a sha : : me.

(Jefferson, 1984b, p. 346)

- A: Oh, my mother decided not to come for Christmas
 —→ B: Why?
 A: Well, I think she just doesn't want to make another trip so soon.
 —→ B: Too bad.

(Richards, and Schmidt, 1983, p. 139)

A search for sympathetic responses in the Turkish troubles-talk specimens has been very rewarding. As we shall see in the course of this chapter, interest in the troubles-teller and his case, disbelief that a trouble could strike him, approval of his deeds and feelings, good wishes for a quick recovery, all of which can go under 'demonstrating sympathy' and, therefore, under Goffman's 'supportive' moves, have been detected in the data.

3.2.1 Types of Acknowledgements with consequences for the topic

A study of troubles-acknowledgements in the Turkish conversations reveals that these can be divided into two groups. Although both types are equally loaded with sympathy for the troubles-teller, the distinction is as to the effectiveness these acknowledgements have for the maintenance of topic.

For this reason we shall review them as:

- i) Topic ending acknowledgements (Formulaic expressions)
- ii) Topic continuing acknowledgements

3.2.1.1 Topic ending acknowledgements: Formulaic expressions

After complaints, one of the recurrent types of acknowledgement comes in the form of a formulaic expression. What this means, however, is not very easy to define. Tannen and Oztek's (1981) attempt is: 'a combination of words which have become associated in everybody's mind and are often repeated' (p. 37). But, as Pawley and Syder (1983) say,

'there is a novelty scale in the spontaneous speaker's production of clauses. A minority of spoken clauses are entirely novel creations, in the sense that the combination of lexical items used is new to the speaker, the combination will, of course, be put together according to familiar grammatical patterns. Some clauses are entirely familiar, memorized sequences. These are strings which the speaker or hearer is capable of consciously assembling or analyzing, but which on most occasions of use are recalled as wholes or as automatically chained strings. Still other clauses fall at various points along a cline between these two extremes, consisting partly of new collocations of lexical items and partly of memorized lexical and structural material'.

(p. 205)

Along this scale Pawley and Syder's 'familiar patterns' present a very wide selection with examples such as 'You can't please everyone', 'I thought you'd never ask', and 'If you believe that you'll believe anything'. Similarly, all clichés, proverbs, idioms, phrases etc. have a place under this umbrella. As compared to this, Tannen and Oztek's range is microscopic, and the examples are very limited, if not invariable, in applicability. That is, 'the same expression is used by everyone in that culture in the appropriate situation, no one in that culture would use any other expression, and the failure to use it is socially marked' (p. 38). Ferguson (1981) makes a similar definition of a formula which is 'highly stereotyped and can be altered only with the

definite recognition on the part of the speaker and hearer that it is being altered for some specific effect (for instance, substitution of the adjective 'good' in 'good morning' would mark intended humorous effect) (p. 25). Additionally, he specifies the function of formulas in terms of politeness, the rules of etiquette for a given society.

In Turkish troubles-talk, two acknowledgement types with topic terminating capacity have been encountered. One type is, as Tannen and Oztek describe, situation-specific and obligatory. These will be called 'formulaic expressions' here. The other type consists of 'familiar patterns', as in Pawley and Syder's scale, and these will be referred to as 'semi-formulaic expressions'.

Goffman (1971) lists the circumstances in which formulaic expressions are occasioned as accident, ceremony and business. Tannen and Oztek, too, see three areas in which the formulas appear: anxiety provoking events, happy events, and rapport establishment.

Happy events, Tannen and Oztek say, fall into two categories of occasions and gain. Occasions are holidays, birthdays, weddings, New Year or Christmas celebrations and the like. Gain includes arrivals and new possessions. In general 'happy events are always occasions for formulas which acknowledge good fortune although there is also awareness that luck may change', so there are formulas within this category to protect the good from evil forces.

Formulas about the anxiety-provoking categories of bad health and loss (separation and death being included in this section) 'create the sense of control over forces that are otherwise uncontrollable and threatening' (Tannen and Oztek, 1981, p. 40).

What emerges from these is that the formulas have a double function in each case; in happy events it is to share the pleasure of a felicitous event with the speaker and to make pleas to superhuman powers for the conditions

to last; in anxiety provoking events, it is to share the sorrow of a distressing event, and to implore for the conditions to change.

The analysis of data demonstrates that for institutionalized troubles like death, illness, and separation, the acknowledgement is through conventional formulas which may or may not be accompanied with a surprise token:

- K: I've got rheumatism, and stomach-ache. There's an ulcer in my stomach.
 A: Is that so?
 K: Yes.
 —→ A: May it be past.
 K: Thanks. Well, thanks to God...

(Ext. 6, p. 244-5, lines 6-10)

[I is talking about the last few days of her sister]

- I: 'On occasions it is alright' (the doctor) said, 'On other occasions, one leads a vegetable existence for a couple of months.' May God not let one live like that, if possible. When she got ill again (.)
 —→ K: Yes, may your head be alive. We heard of and are saddened by it.

(Ext. 16, p. 274, lines 1-2)

Apart from 'Gecmis Olsun' (May it be past) for ill-health, and 'Basiniz Sagolsun' (May your head be alive) for death, in their paper on Turkish politeness as reflected in the formulas of courtesy, Nicolas and Flamain (1978) also give the following as alternative usages:

For ill-health:

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Allah sifalar versin: | May God give health |
| Acil sifalar: | Prompt health |
| Allah dusmanima bile vermesin: | May God not give even to my enemies |

For death:

| | |
|--|---|
| Allah baska olum acisini gostermesin: | May God not show another death |
| Allah geride kalanlara uzun omur versin: | May God give long life to those remaining |

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Allah sizlere omur versin: | May God give you long life |
| Topragi bol olsun: | May God bless the deceased's soil |
| Nur icinde yatsin: | May he lie in peace |
| Allah taksiratini affetsin: | May God pardon his past sins |
| Makami cennet olsun: | May his location be paradise |

There are also in Turkish a fair number of semi-formulaic phrases; 'semi'- in the sense that they do not have a one-to-one relationship with the trouble as the above do with ill-health and death. They are usable liberally and for a variety of problems. As such, they are not obligatory, and their occurrence is up to the recipient. Among such phrases Tannen and Oztek (1981) list the following:

| | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Allah baska keder vermesin: | May God not give other grief |
| Allah beterinden saklasin: | God protect from worse |
| Allah sabir versin: | May God give patience |

Nicolas and Flamain (1978) also cover some of these:

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Allah korusun: | May God protect |
| Allah iyilik versin: | May God give welfare |
| Allah alnimiza iyi yazilar yazsin: | May God write better things on our forehead |
| Allah baska keder gostermesin: | May God not show another trouble |

The overriding tone in these formulas is submission to the divine power in the face of human powerlessness. The recipient appeals to God to bring the teller relief. In response, the teller expresses his gratitude by thanking the recipient:⁴

- A: May it be past.
K: Thanks. Well, thanks to God...

(Ext. 6, p. 245, lines 8-9)

N: May God reunite.
H: Thank you, thanks.

(Ext. 14, p. 267, lines 8-9)

On the other hand, less archaic phrases which encourage the individual's capacity for overcoming difficulties are also encountered in the data. The most frequent are:

| | |
|------------------|---|
| Neyse: | Any way |
| Bosver: | Forget it |
| Unut gitsin: | Forget it and let it go |
| Yorma kafani: | Don't exhaust your mind with it |
| Aldirma: | Never mind, take it easy |
| Uzulmege degmez: | It is not worth worrying |
| Canin sagolsun: | It does not matter as long as you are alive |
| Saglik olsun: | It does not matter as long as you are healthy |
| Hayirlisi: | Let's hope for the best |
| Icini sikma: | Don't get annoyed |

S: I'm angry, I feel very terribly disappointed
(0.1)
—→ K: Let's hope for the best. (Hayirlisi)
S: Anyway. (Neyse)
—→ N: Let's hope for the best my friend (Hayirlisi)
S: No, still...

(Ext. 13, p. 262, lines 11-15)

S: Well, one cannot remember them one after the other, as if
someone is tapping, I mean, in the manner of a strategy-
K: Sure,
sure.
—→ K: Never mind (Hayirlisi)
S: E:::

(Ext. 13, p. 264, lines 28-31)

- S: In other words, he had learnt Irish, apparently
 K: Ha (.) Let's hope for the best (Hayirlisi) How is the boy?
 —> N: It doesn't matter
 (saglik olsun) Oktay dear
 K: How is Kerem?
 S: The boy is fine
 —> N: It doesn't matter (saglik olsun)
 K: Good
 —> N: Oktay dear, take it easy (yorma kafani)

(Ext. 13, p. 266, lines 39-46)

These expressions are not only quick recipes for difficult moments (see Tannen and Oztek, 1981), but they are found to terminate the troubles-talk at an early stage as well.⁵ The following is an example. A is visiting K at home and after the initial conversational openings, K starts to complain, but failing to secure A's cooperation on making it an extensive, all-round troubles-talk, she then diverts her attention to her 15 year old daughter who has just been disappearing into the other room, and tells her to *make coffee for the guest*, only to resume her moaning a little later in the same conversation:

- K: I m trying to cope with an illness.
 A: What's that? What sort of an illness?
 K: Well, still, I have survived successfully in this hole, that is, in the basement, in damp places I've got rheumatism, and stomach-ache. There's an ulcer in my stomach.
 A: Is that so?
 K: Yes.
 A: May it be past
 K: Thanks. Well, thanks to God. ADVIYE look here, look here (I'll catch you) where are you going like this again?

(Ext 6, pp. 244-5, lines 4-10)

Following an invitation to give more details on her illness, the way K presents her case is worth noting: not only does she allude to the inferiority of her lodging with references like 'hole', 'basement', and 'damp places', she also names three different ailments only one of which would be cause enough for the making of a complaint. Her trouble studded gambit however, gets a minimal acknowledgement from the recipient who shows surprise with 'Is that so?', then extends her good wishes for a recovery. K's appreciation of A's

good wishes is followed by further appreciation to God for not having made her plight any worse (as if it could get any worse). This ironical situation is explainable only as the result of a curb put on the talk by the conventional formula 'May it be past', after which K is compelled to close off the talk 'officially' by bringing in the 'happy' side of the picture.

In the next example, K announces the trouble with her sight, while at the same time trying to put a piece of thread through the eye of a needle. Instead of asking for more information about the trouble, the recipient, H, closes it off with a conventional formula. It may be interesting to note here, though, that the formula chosen by her in this instance is not at all peculiar to eyesight problems. In fact, there is no fixed formula for this kind of trouble; 'Rastgele' is a form to wish good luck to a hunter or a fisherman, but because H is not interested in further talk, she picks up a conventional phrase which is adaptable to the situation, implying 'just like a hunter catching his prey, or a fisherman catching fish, may you catch the eye of the needle'. K appreciates the reluctance for further talk on the present problem, she not only repeats the conventional formula, wishing herself good luck with the hunt, she also allows a handsome pause (0.5) for the other speaker to initiate a new sequence. When reluctance persists, she herself introduces the change, 'Apart from this we also bought a skirt.'

- K: I can't see the needle at all (.) I can't, you know.
(0.2)
H: May you hit the mark!
K: May I hit the mark. (0.5) Apart from this, we also bought a
(jersey) skirt.

(Ext. 17, p. 275, lines 1-3)

These are only two of the examples to show how the speakers can terminate talk about troubles before it develops into a long exchange. Even when the talk is an extended one, these formulas usually appear at the termination point.

[Talk has been continuing for a while on S's failure to get a job at an Irish university. The boy referred to in the 2nd turn is S's son N is taking turns at talk only occasionally as otherwise he is engaged in a backgammon game with a fourth person. Oktay is the name used by others for speaker S.]

- S: In other words, he had learnt Irish, apparently
 K: Ha (.) Let's hope for the best (Hayirlisi). How is the boy?
 N: It doesn't matter,
 (saglik olsun) Oktay, dear
 K: How is Kerem?
 S: The boy is fine
 N: It doesn't matter (saglik olsun)
 K: Good
 N: Oktay, dear, take it easy (yorma kafani)
 (0.1)
 S: If I reach out for something, I must make a success of it,
 (otherwise) it annoys one (me).
 N: Oktay, dear, it doesn't - enough ENOUGH of this, what a bloody
 dice this is

(Ext 13, p. 266, lines 39-48)

N's attitude here is quite interesting. He has witnessed his wife's (K) numerous attempts at closing the talk and S's obstinacy in not letting the topic go. Since the initial stage of the news announcement, N has been playing backgammon with another participant and trying to concentrate on the game. In fact this is why a large proportion of the talk takes place between S and K. At this point N's sudden enthusiasm in getting involved and throwing in closing devices one after the other makes sense only when interpreted as his impatience with the situation. Not to sound rude, though, he blends in several affectionate address terms, 'Oktay, dear'. Of course, this outburst coincides with K's success in diverting the talk to other mentionables for the first time, 'How is the boy' which secures a response from S, and which could have gone some way without N's interference. Unfortunately N's first formulaic expression overlaps with K's new topic initiator and overshadows it. When S returns to the troubles-talk with 'If I reach out for something...', despite all the efforts N has shown, N loses his temper and starts shouting,

literally addressed to the dice for not being favourable, but most probably to S for going too far, 'enough ENOUGH of this, what a bloody dice this is'.

If the topic continues after the stereotyped closing devices, the turn subsequent to the closing device incorporates certain components which can only be explained as marking the irregularity of topic continuation. For example, in another section of the same extract S is telling K the possible reason for his failure in getting the academic job he had applied for:

- S: I m angry. I feel terribly disappointed.
(0.1)
- > K: Let's hope for the best.
- > S: Anyway,
- > N: Let's hope for the best, my friend.
- > S: NO, still, it is something to be the second best among sixty-three people.

(Ext. 13, p. 262, lines 11-15)

The first formulaic expression by K secures a passive submission from the troubles-teller, 'Anyway'. After the backgammon-player's late contribution to the talk (i.e. the second formulaic expression) the teller decides to revive the subject again. His next turn starts with a 'No'. This opposition marker has no semantic links to what has gone on prior to its placement, and can only be explained as legitimizing the continuation of the same topic after it has been 'officially' closed.

Similarly, in the next example, S thinks that he had not been successful in the interview because he could not say the right things there and then. While he was about to carry on, as is obvious from his unfinished sentence, 'in the manner of a strategy-', comes the termination device 'Never mind'. As he was geared to say more on the subject, he starts a new turn, without being able to produce more than a meaningless sound, 'E:'. Following this, K realizes that she has terminated the talk rather prematurely, and picks it up again:

- S: What's more, my, well (.) after I had got out, I was embarrassed at the fact that, although I wanted to say lots of things, I couldn't. Well, one cannot remember them one after the other, as if someone is tapping, I mean, in the manner of a strategy-
- K: Sure,
sure.
- K: Never mind.
- S: E:
(.)
- K: But the fact that you have had such an experience...

(Ext. 13, p. 264, lines 28-32)

In conclusion, the troubles-talk can be closed at any point, including the acknowledgement stage, in orthodox and socially accepted ways like pleading to God to give recovery to the teller, or asking the teller to think more of his own well-being. All those phrases which are based on 'being alive', 'being healthy', 'not getting worried', 'not getting annoyed', 'not exhausting the mind', etc. make their user a caring person who, in actual fact, is distancing himself gently from the trouble of the teller.

Does this mean that institutionalized troubles which require a formulaic response cannot start a topical talk? It does not. Whether to give only the formulaic response and say nothing after that, or whether to continue after the conventional formula is something the recipient decides in each case. It seems probable that the recipient will not want to expand the topic in those instances where the trouble is either too serious or too insignificant. An example of the former is:

- I: ... When she got ill again (.)
- K: Yes, may your head be alive. We heard of and are saddened by it.

(Ext. 16, p. 274, lines 1-2)

In this context, I is reporting the last days which lead to the death of her sister. When the first pause which might well be the indication of excessive emotional stress appears, K does her interactional duty by using the

conventional formula, together with personalized condolences, without any signs of encouragement for the topic continuation, as otherwise it may develop into a more face-damaging situation for the teller. At this point I is in such a position that, in case she wants to continue, this will be justified by the unfinished sentence prior to the condolences, but if she decides to prevent any uncontrollable eruption of emotions, she can stop as the other speaker has already closed the topic 'officially' anyway.

Similarly, in the next example the topic is blocked by a formulaic expression:

- K: I can't see the needle at all (.) I can't, you know.
(0.2)
H: May you hit the mark!
K: May I hit the mark. (0.5) Apart from this, we also bought...

(Ext. 17, p. 275, lines 1-3)

Here the trouble of not managing to thread a needle is so ephemeral that any subsequent talk about it will become obsolete as soon as the thread goes through the eye of the needle.

3.2.1.2 Topic continuing acknowledgements

3.2.1.2.1 Surprise implicative responses

On some occasions, these are carried out with movements like slapping one's cheek or knee repeatedly, biting the lower lip, a sudden intake of breath, clicking the tongue a couple of times against the palate, or by opening the eyes and the mouth simultaneously. Such non-verbal behaviour is, of course, excluded from this study due to the limitations imposed on us by the data gathering equipment. On the verbal side, surprise is transmitted through response cries like 'Allahallah' (My goodness, or Good Lord), 'Aman Yarabbi' (Mercy, the Creator), 'Aman Allahim' (Mercy, my God), through

expressions of commiseration (mainly for a third, non-present party) like 'Vah vah' (can be extended, functioning as 'What a pity'; also can be used as a pair to enclose an address term like 'Vah Kerem vah' (what a pity for Kerem, what a pity), 'Yazik' (shame), through exclamations of regret or annoyance like 'tuh tuh' (can be extended), or simply through surprise indicating sounds like 'A :::', or 'Ha :::?', 'Ya :::?'.

The extreme cases of surprise, amalgamated with suspicion of the truth of statements of trouble, and amplified in pitch and stress, indicate some sort of disbelief in what has just been made public. The recurrent phrases are:

Haydi: (colloquially shortened to 'hadi' but with a lengthened 'i' at the end): Come off it!

Ciddi mi?: Is this serious?

Oyle mi? Is that so?

Ne?: What?

Ne diyorsun?: What are you saying?

Hakikaten?: In reality?

Inanmam: I don't believe it.

Yapma: (literally 'don't do' but functioning as) You don't say!

Deme: You don't say.

Yalan: A lie

Dogru soyle: Tell the truth

Saka ediyorsun: You are joking

Yok canim: It can't be

Vallaha?: By God?

Yemin et: Swear on it

Git: Go away

etc.

K: I've got rheumatism, and stomach-ache. There's an ulcer in my stomach.

—> A: Is that so? (Oyle mi?)

K: Yes.

A: May it be past.

(Ext. 6, pp. 244-5, lines 6-9)

S: I am angry. I phoned (them) (.) apparently we couldn't get it

—> N: You don't say (Yapma)!

S: If it's going to be a consolation for you ' they said ..

(Ext. 13, p. 261, lines 2-4)

S: I miss meals like this in the evenings. For supper every evening it's fish and chips, every evening it's fish and chips, without fail.

—> A: Come off it! (Hadi :)

S: I swear.

A: Well then, isn't there anything else to eat?

(Ext. 9, p. 253, lines 8-11)

Such utterances of disbelief are directly expressed (as compared to the indirect formulations of certain speech activities), almost fixed, short phrases which are somewhat similar to back channel behaviour, rather than attempts to claim a speaking turn. Despite the apparent disbelief, they are supportive in nature and are not taken as signs of hostility. As such, they resemble negative surprise acknowledgements in English.⁶

Al: The uh engine blew - I don't know, the valves an' everything went phooh!
(1.0)

—> Roger: Are you kidding?

Al: There's three hundred an' fifty dollars worth of work to be done on the engine now.

(Schegloff and Sacks, 1975, p. 244)

3.2.1.2.2 Pequests for more information

Confronted with troubles-telling, the recipient shows concern by asking for more information about the trouble, without going too much into the technical details of it. These questions encourage the teller to continue, and in this respect, are the expected seconds to those 'compact' complaints which come with a device indicating the incentive to unfold (see p. 98):

K: I'm trying to cope with an illness.
 —> A: What's that? What sort of an illness?

(Ext. 6, p. 244, lines 4-5)

A: Kerem's ill, Kerem's ill today.
 —> S: A:: shame! What, is it something like flu?

(Ext. 5, p. 242, lines 2-3)

S: Apparently I've missed it by a whisker - I missed it.
 Apparently we are the runner up.
 —> H: Who's got it?

(Ext 13, p. 263, lines 20-21)

Informal contexts show some difference to official contexts so far as these questions are concerned. For instance, in medical contexts, the questions extracted help the medical expert to reach a decision regarding the nature of the trouble so that the action taken eventually will be a sound one. In such contexts the ordering of the questions is also purposeful and graded in the sense that the final point is reached through a step-by-step approach. Reminding ourselves of Turner's example again:

P6: I'm a nurse but my husband won't let me work.
 T7: How old are you?
 P7: Thirty one, this December.
 T8: What do you mean he won't let you work?

It has already been mentioned that T7 is not an innocent enquiry and that, together with T8, it paves the way to a troubles-resistance to the effect of 'You are old enough to decide whether or not you should work'.

Similarly, the questioning strategy in some informal contexts seems to be evoked by the need to find out the seriousness of the trouble. For example, in the next news announcement in which separation is detected by the second speaker, the question may be helping the recipient to assess the expected length of the separation and consequently the gravity of the trouble:

- > H: At six Sitki set off, then I went to bed.
 N: Where did Sitki Bey go?
 H: He went to Biga.
 N: May God reunite.
 H: Thank you, thanks.

(Ext. 14, p. 267, lines 5-9)

However, the same analysis does not seem to be applicable to all cases. For instance in Ext. (14) below, the initial formulation of the trouble leaves no room for doubt about its severity. On the contrary, by comparing the present poorly state of the boy with his 'liveliness' before the circumcision, the teller is portraying the change in a dramatic way. Furthermore, although the answer to 'What does the circumciser say?' indicates that the worst is over now (i.e. the circumciser's last call was on Sunday which must have been some way away from the time of conversation - 'We haven't seen him since then' - and 'the whole thing was taking its normal course') the same speaker who requests more information about the circumciser's opinion, returns to talk after two turns (taken by the other participants) with almost a 'professional' claim that it should be painful for the child due to the operational area being 'stretched'. So, obviously this is not a case in which the recipient is trying to evaluate the severity of the trouble because it was already put to her by the teller clearly, and she herself is experienced enough to evaluate the seriousness of it. Then, what function

does the request for information achieve in the sequence? A plausible explanation is this: the teller has disclosed a problem, and with it, has exposed vulnerability and jeopardized face. Under the circumstances, the recipient has to come to the support of the teller and one of the ways of doing that is by showing interest and concern in the case:

N: The child has been shaken (by circumcision). He had been such a lively boy (until then).

H: It coincided with the hot weather. Perhaps that's the reason.

—→ What does the circumciser say?

A: Really, the circumciser (0.1) well, we last saw him on Sunday, we haven't seen him since. He came on Sunday for the last time, removed the bandages, put on some medical cream (.) he said that the whole thing was taking its normal course.

S: Does it hurt, I wonder.

(Ext. 14, p. 269, lines 18-21)

In this capacity such questions have no target-aimed ordering as they do in specialized contexts (see p.126), do not totally influence the eventual response to trouble, and in some cases, are 'beside the point'. For example:

S: = 'you and (.) the thingmebob, that is, the person who got the job' they said, 'we've found it very difficult to choose between'.

K: Ha

S: 'But unfortunately, at the end, to give that person...'

—→ N: Which one?

S: The one who is from their- that Trinity (College), their own man. I'm angry. I feel terribly disappointed.
(0.1)

K: Let's hope for the best.

(Ext. 13, pp. 161-2, lines 6-12)

It is obvious that the information gained, namely that 'the one from Trinity College' got the job has no effect on the outcome (as the recipient does not know anybody in that circle apart from the teller) and the final point that K reaches, 'Let's hope for the best' could have been reached without this extra bit of information.

In the same way A's request for specification of illness in the next example only helps the situation to be revealed in details which do not go beyond being a matter of interest to A. As she is a non-medical person, all she can do after receiving the information is to extend her good wishes for a recovery.

- > K: I'm trying to cope with an illness.
 A: What's that? What sort of an illness.
 K: Well, still, I have survived successfully in this hole, that is, in the basement, in damp places. I've got rheumatism, and stomach-ache. There's an ulcer in my stomach.
 A: Is that so?
 K: Yes.
 A: May it be past.

(Ext. 6, pp. 244-5, lines 4-9)

At this point it may be worth looking at what Richards and Schmidt (1983) say on requests for more information in troubles-telling sequences. Their example is:

- "A: .. What's new?
 B: Nothing much. I still got a cold.
 A: Oh, has it improved at all, hopefully?
 B: Yeah, it's gotten better, it's gotten better. It'll be alright tomorrow. It better because I'm going out tomorrow.

With 'What's new?', A presents a general purpose topic opener, to which B responds by initiating, raising or nominating a topic (I still got a cold). A's next move rectifies or accepts the topic. A's ratification move (Oh, has it improved at all, hopefully) is functionally similar to comments such as 'yeah, I know', or 'uh huh', which intersect another participant's turn and whose function may be interpreted as giving encouragement to the other speaker without claiming the floor for talk. However, by using a question as her move, A is using an even stronger device to return the floor to B. B's answer to A's question expands on the topic as requested by A. Each move then responds to the previous move and at the same time sets up transactional obligations regarding the following move, defining the topic all the while."

(p. 138)

As a supportive move, 'Oh, has it improved at all, hopefully' does more than effectively returning the floor to B and thus expanding on the

topic: it transmits the recipient's interest and especially concern which 'uh huh' or similar back channel cues will fail to transmit.

3.2.1.2.3 Confirmation

This is yet another type of acknowledgement which secures the continuation of the talk on the trouble by giving affirmation to the facts presented in the complaint. A very close parallel between English and Turkish can be drawn on this point. For example:

- Ken: ... An' I went forty five the whole way up there. -
 (1.0) - I - I made pretty good time, but it's // tiresome.
 —→ Louise. But it was one pers- yeah it's tire//some
 Ken: Ohh it's tiresome...

(Jefferson, 1973, p. 85)

- K: I've changed a lot, look here, Ayse Hanım, now, do you know what happens, (referring to her husband) he first gets the block of flats, then he leaves everything to me Looking after these children, doing the shopping (for the flats), it is not easy, you know
 —→ A: Sure it isn't=
 K: =Very, Ahmet doesn't help at all, Ahmet has changed a lot this year.

(Ext. 6, p. 246, lines 18-20)

In the first extract, the recipient's confirmation leads to a further turn where the complaining party can communicate slightly more than his initial move, by adding a touch of intensity: 'Ohh, it's tiresome'. In the Turkish case, the recipient's congeniality provides for K to increase the sphere of her complaints about her family members, moving from the husband to the son, both of whom are indifferent to her ordeal. Also, her talk shows greater stress after the receipt of the affirmation, manifesting how the tellers can be encouraged to say more on receipt of these acknowledgement types. With A's

'Sure it isn't' K finds an 'understanding' partner to whom more can be revealed. Another example of an understanding partner is in the next context:

- A: ... I had been wanting to go to Holland for a long time. But there was nothing, for the whole Easter period every place was completely em full.
 U: Full. The thingy was full too, the plane was fully booked too=
 A: =The plane too
 U: And the Sealink
 A: Uhm.
 (0.2)
 U: But apparently it's been quite cold in Europe recently.

(Ext. 18, pp. 275-6, lines 1-5)

A general statement made by the troubles-teller 'Every place was full' gets a particularized confirmation by the recipient who lists 'the thingy', 'the plane' and 'the Sealink' as items of 'every place' which was obviously produced by the teller to substitute 'all forms of transport'. Here, U is demonstrating to A that he has had similar intentions and has obtained the same information first hand. By virtue of sharing the same trouble, therefore, the speakers take a couple of turns in the construction of the topic between them.

There are times when the recipient is 'understanding' due to his first hand experience of the troublesome situation. Most probably this is the case for the recipient in Jefferson's example, 'Yeah, it's tiresome' (p.121). It is also applicable to U who knows that all forms of transport are unavailable (see Ext. 18 above). But this does not apply to all examples. Occasionally, the recipient admits that the teller has right on his side without having experienced the situation personally. A, who is talking to the concierge's wife is in this category:

- K: Looking after these children, doing the shopping [for the flats], it is not easy, you know
 A: Sure it isn't.

(Ext. 6, p. 246, lines 18-19)

Not having been put in the situation, how can A know that these chores are not easy to cope with, and if she does not have the first hand experience in the case, why would she decide to confirm the teller's words? A number of examples show that confirmation is given by the recipient if there is a general assessment of the trouble in the previous turn. See, for instance, the case above where A's confirmation is directed to 'It's not easy you know'.

Similarly:

S: ... This-this-this is something bigger. What's more,
K: You are right.

(Ext. 13, p. 264, lines 26-27)

S: ... one cannot remember them one after the other...
K: Sure, sure.

(Ext. 13, p. 264, lines 28-29)

S: That experience in Ireland was a bad experience. It's very
difficult.
K: Well, of course.

(Ext. 13, p. 265, lines 35-36)

There is an especially interesting case where the teller uses this format and although he fails to assess properly, still secures a confirmation:

[N is complaining about the window shutters in her son's house]

N: They are very thingy
F: Yes.

(Ext. 10, p. 255, lines 1-2)

How confirmation contributes to the development of topic in relation to Ext. 6, is mentioned on p. 121. Similar results can be observed in other cases, e.g. the unsuccessful applicant, S, carries on to report the other aspects of the trouble (Ext. 13, p. 264, line 28) while the mother who has moaned about the night-time disadvantages of her son's window shutters continues

with the trouble they cause during the day (Ext. 10, p. 255, line 3) after the confirmation.

One odd case is below. The troubles talk comes to the verge of a breakdown, with the recipient first giving confirmation to the teller, then withdrawing from him the opportunity to speak:

[S is evaluating his failure in getting a job]

S: This is a kind of backgammon game, you know. Just like [referring to N who is playing backgammon with another speaker] this man getting angry when he loses a game- This-this-is something bigger. What is more,

—> K: You are right

S: there's just a whisker in it. No
What's more, my, well (.) after I had got out, I was embarrassed at the fact that, although I wanted to say lots of things, I couldn't. Well, one cannot remember them one after the other, as if someone is tapping, I mean, in the manner of a strategy-

—> K: Sure, sure.

—> K: never mind

S: E:::
(.)

(Ext 13, p. 264, lines 26-31)

Our attention is on the second confirmation that K extends to S. It should be remembered that this troubles-teller has been retaining the topic despite several attempts by others to close it, and the recipient by not allowing him an opportunity to take the turn after the release of a confirmation, may be signalling her impatience. We must note, however, that there is no indication of impatience in the way 'Tabii, tabii' ('sure, sure' or 'of course, of course') is executed, and as the intonation is that of a confirmation, S prepares for more to say to which the unexpected 'Never mind' puts a stoppage. So, the only explanation that can be given to this strange occurrence is that K has already produced a confirmation shortly prior to this one (You are right), and has allowed S to carry on further, therefore, she does not feel obliged to give a second chance.

A global look at all these four types of acknowledgements will show that their contribution to the maintenance of topic is not negligible. However, a note of caution: the only pattern in which they do not encourage the topic is when they are followed immediately by formulaic or semi-formulaic expressions. For example:

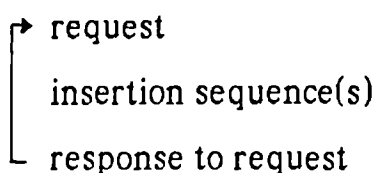
S: In other words, he had learnt Irish apparently.
K: Ha (.) Let's hope for the best. How is the boy?

(Ext. 13, p. 266, lines 39-40)

As 'Ha' is blocked by 'Let's hope for the best', the only function it has in this context is the receipt of news. (See also the effects of 'sure, sure' followed by 'Never mind' in the case above - p. 124).

3.2.1.3 Sequential features of topic continuing acknowledgements

There is an interesting development in the sequence because of these acknowledgement types. The relevance holding between the parts is neither like that in pre-sequences nor in insertion sequences. In the case of pre-sequences, they are question-answer couplets appearing prior to the actual adjacency pair without influencing the relevance between the main pair parts. In the case of insertion sequences, although the adjacency of the main pair is disrupted as a result of the embedding, the relevance still holds between the main parts:



How this applies to troubles-telling in institutionalized interaction (citizen/police) can be observed in:

- C: Um yeah (.) somebody jus' vandalized my car,
 Ct: What's your address.
 C: [gives address]
 Ct: Is this uh house or an apartment.
 C: Ih tst uh house
 Ct: Uh-your las' name.
 C: Minsky
 Ct: How you spell it
 C: M-i-n-s-k-y
 Ct: Wull sen' someone out to see you.

(Zimmermann, 1984, p. 214)

A similar pattern occurs in doctor/patient interaction:

- X: well can you can you prescribe anything for the allergy I
 mean will it go away I mean it's quite nasty to look at
 Y: does it itch at all
 X: yes it itches quite a lot
 Y: do you get scabs forming on it or anything
 X: no
 Y: hm hum it's just on your face and hands is it
 X: and my arms
 Y: and your arms is it on any other place on the body
 X: well it's spreading yeah

 Y: well I think I can prescribe some ointment for you...

(Edmundson, 1981, p. 110)

When we look at non-institutionalized conversation the situation is different. The initial troubles-telling and the topic-continuing acknowledgement make a pair. E.g.

- S: I am angry. I phoned (them) (.) apparently we couldn't get it.
 N: You don't say!

Here the gap after troubles-telling is filled in with 'You don't say!' which is a conditionally relevant response at this point because it conveys the recipient's reaction to the news.

Note, however, that there is a number of other possible responses here like topic-ending-acknowledgements, advice (Ch. 4), minimization and

disagreement (Ch. 5) which are similarly relevant. In this respect, troubles-telling has a wider range of relevant second turns than say, invitations (acceptance/declination), and can happily couple up with one of its seconds to make an adjacency pair just like accusations can pair up with one from a selection of 'denials, justifications, excuses, counter-accusations. . . admissions, and apologies' (Atkinson and Drew, 1979, p. 60).

On the other hand, the topic-continuing acknowledgement also creates a gap in the sequence which has to be filled in with a turn that continues the topic. See how the teller gets committed to say more on the trouble after 'You don't say!'.

N: You don't say!

S: 'If it's going to be a consolation for you' they said,

Because both pairs have the same turn as one of their parts, then, pairs get chained to one another. Now, the possibility is such that the process can continue with the consent of the speakers, as a result of which a pattern of continuous sequential development and topic maintenance emerges:

S: I am angry. I phoned (them) (.) apparently we couldn't get it.

N: You don't say!

S: 'If it's going to be a consolation for you' they said,

K: Ye-es? =

S: = 'you and (.) the thingmebob, that is, the person who got the job' they said, 'we've found it very difficult to choose between'.

K: Ha?

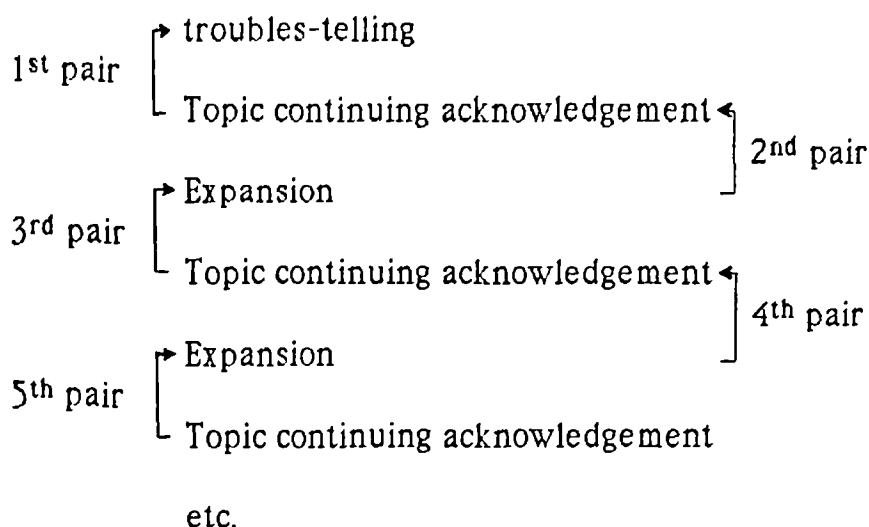
S: 'But unfortunately, at the end, to give that person'

N: Which one?

S: The one who is from their - that Trinity (College), their own man. I'm angry. I feel terribly disappointed.

(Ext. 13, pp. 261-2, lines 2-11)

In sequential terms this piece of conversation has the following structure:



Usually where to stop this process is signalled by the speakers. For example, in Ext. (13), when the initial complaint, 'I am angry' is repeated after a couple of turns, 'I'm angry. I feel terribly disappointed', K assumes that the troubles-telling is completed, and produces a formulaic expression to close the topic (see S's submission with 'Anyway,'):

S: The one who is from their - that Trinity (College), their own
man. I'm angry. I feel terribly disappointed.
(0.1)
K: Let's hope for the best.
S: Anyway,

(Ext. 13, p. 262, lines 11-13)

Also, if the teller has no more to say about the trouble after the last of such acknowledgements has been offered to him, then the recipient may feel it necessary to produce a 'proper' topic changing device as in:

U: And the Sealink
A: Uhm.
(0.2)
U: But apparently it's been quite cold in Europe recently.

(Ext. 18, pp. 275-6, lines 3-5)

We will analyze how U's last turn (and other responses similar to it)

contributes to the interaction and the topic closing mechanism in Ch. 5. For the moment, our concern is on the pause in between this turn and A's prior 'pass', 'Uhm.' As the latter shows that A has no wish to continue with the trouble, U gives a further chance (0.2) for her to say more, but failing there again, produces a closing comment. Note how the talk at this point could easily have developed into some specific examples of the bad weather conditions in Europe. In the actual data, however, the change is achieved by the interference of a child (see App., p. 276).

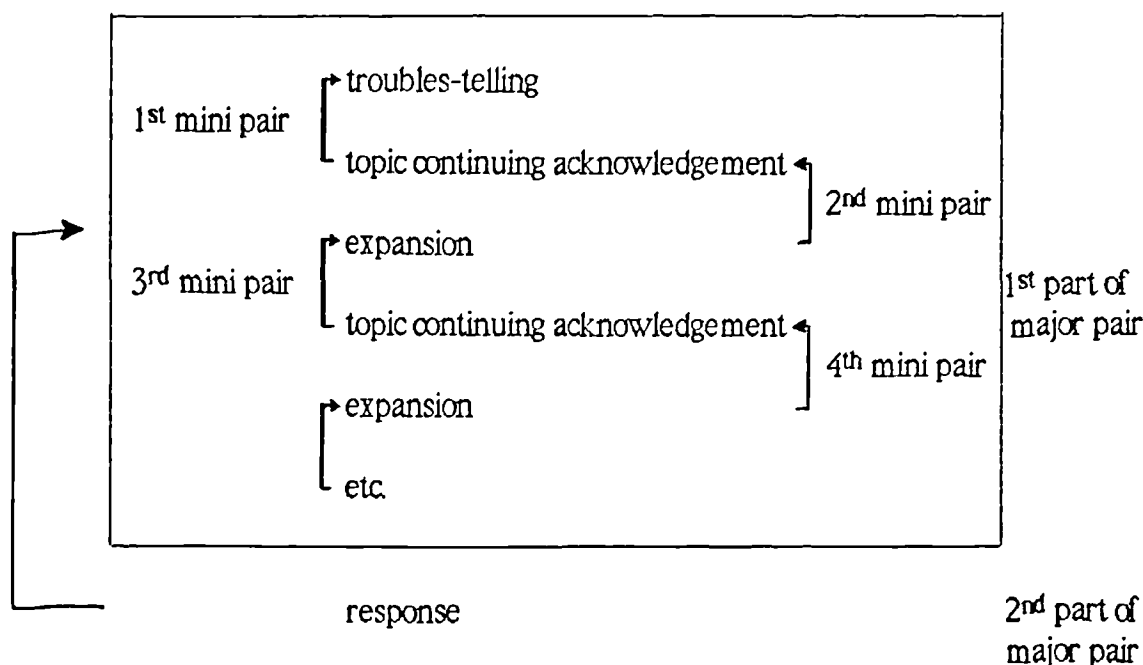
Similarly in:

- K: ... I've got rheumatism, and stomach ache. There's an ulcer in
my stomach.
A: Is that so?
K: Yes.
A: May it be past.

(Ext. 6, pp. 244-5, lines 6-9)

After A's 'Is that so?' K does not give other items to go into her extensive list of illnesses or provide further information on those she has already mentioned; instead she responds to the surprise question literally [Is that so? = Yes (it is so)] and this creates an opportunity for A to produce a formulaic expression which closes the topic temporarily (see Appendix, p. 245).

It is noteworthy that when the response is finally produced, it does not stretch back to the initial turn as it does in the insertion sequences of formal contexts, but covers the complete trouble. In other words, all these topic continuing acknowledgements and expansions bring the initial complaint forward like a growing snowball and at the end of the process, the accumulated material forms a huge first part to which a response is still needed to close the major pair:



For example, in Ext.13, the response 'Let's hope for the best' in line 12, is directed neither exclusively to the initial complaint, ('I am angry, I phoned etc'), nor to the last in the series, ('The one who is from their - that Trinity etc'), but to the whole case of failing to get the job. When the second part of the major pair is produced, this also creates a point for the topic closure.

As we have seen so far, the second part can be a formulaic or semi-formulaic expression. Alternatively, it can be 'advice' (cf. Ch. 4) or comfort (cf. Ch. 5) for the helpless or worried teller. However, if the second part is advice, the chances to close the topic are rather slim, and this is what we will be looking at in the next chapter.

3.3 Conclusion

To sum up, the recipient has initially 4 possibilities in acknowledging a complaint sympathetically: surprise implicative responses, requests for more information, formulaic/semi-formulaic expressions, and confirmation. While formulaic/semi-formulaic expressions can terminate the troubles talk at an early stage, the others can carry it forward.

As the teller is proposing the topic himself and as, at the same time he is risking damage to his face for the sake of intimacy, it is more apt for the recipient to respond to the teller's positive face wants and pursue the talk with topic continuing acknowledgements. On the other hand, especially when the trouble is too grave, formulaic/semi-formulaic expressions, with their topic terminating power, can be more useful interactional devices, as such topics should not be forced out of the teller for face reasons and he should be in a position to stop if needs be after the announcement. The recipient's decision on which type to go for will have consequences for the sequential development of the talk as well. While short sequences will have ordinary adjacency pairs of 'troubles-telling + formulaic/semi-formulaic expression', when topic is encouraged, the first part will spread over minor 'topic-continuing acknowledgements + troubles-telling expansion' pairs and to close the major first part (and in most cases the topic too) there still needs to be a response as the second part.

The interrelation between both types of acknowledgements and their consequences for the topic can be formulated in the following ways:

i) Troubles-telling

Formulaic/Semi-formulaic expression

End of topic

(see Ext. 17, on p. 110)

ii) Troubles-telling

Topic continuing acknowledgement + formulaic/semi-formulaic expression

End of topic

(see Ext. 13, on p. 125)

iii) Troubles-telling

(Formulaic/semi-formulaic expression +) Topic continuing acknowledgement

Expansion

Formulaic/semi-formulaic expression

End of topic

(see Ext. 13, on pages 127 and 128)

NOTES

1. Such confrontations are not uncommon as 'when one presents a topic, except under rather special circumstances, one may be assured that others will try to talk topically with what you've talked about, but you cannot be assured that the topic you intended was the topic they will talk to' (Sacks, 17/4/1968, p. 11).

2. Sacks - 1975b

3. This supports Hymes' (1972) model of the ethnography of speech which distinguishes social settings from official ones on the ground that what is acceptable in one may not be so fundamentally acceptable in the other.

4. For some of these supportive moves, Goffman (1971) also says that the recipient has to show appreciation: 'When... minor rituals performed between persons who are present to each other, the giving statement tends to be followed immediately by a show of gratitude. Both moves taken together form a little ceremony - a supportive interchange' (p. 64).

5. The difficulty experienced by English native speakers in certain situations where the speakers feel that something must be said but they do not know what would be appropriate, is attributed by Tannen and Oztek (1981) to the fact that the English language is not so rich in these formulaic expressions. They agree with Fillmore who reported that the most frequently heard comment at a funeral was 'There is really nothing to say at a time like this'. The authors show in their paper how the fixed expressions in Turkish and Modern Greek supply something to say at a 'time like this'.

6. Such acknowledgements like 'Really?', 'Wow', 'You are kidding', 'Isn't that weird' etc. are classified by Schegloff as 'reaction' markers (1982).

CHAPTER 4: ADVICE ON TROUBLE

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter we shall examine one of the responses to the announcement of trouble, advice-giving. Our progress will be from 'advice as a relevant second' to 'advice as a dangerous act', and the impolite implications of advice will be evaluated therewith. Subsequently turn-internal and turn-external characteristics of advice will be looked at to provide support for our approach in which advice is considered an FTA and a dispreferred turn-type.

4.1 Interdependency between a problem and its solution

We would like to suggest that problems are attractive because they represent a direct challenge to the human faculty of problem-solving. In fact, it can be said that the less accessible the solution seems, the more attractive the problem becomes, because each attempt, if it does not provide a solution to the problem, will increase the stimulation in the exercise, thus making the satisfaction of reaching a solution more enjoyable. Every aborted effort will also make the solution more accessible through the elimination of candidate solutions, a fact which will encourage the perpetuation of the process.

Roberts and Forman (1972) who look at problem-solving in terms of riddles, suggest that this can be an autonomous or an interactional undertaking. It is autonomous when, for instance, an individual tests himself by trying to make sense of an aerial photograph. In interaction 'self-testing' turns into 'contesting' with an extra sense of wanting to solve a problem that someone has presented to you. A prime example of this is chess, a model of

war based on problem-solving. In riddles too, the skills in problem-solving are explicitly invited although they are rarely put into full use:

- D: What's black 'n white 'n hides in caves,
(.4)
R: A'right I give up. What's black 'n white 'n hides in -

(Teresaki, 1976, p. 47)

In more serious circumstances, however, the human mind is not that immune to the attractions of and the challenge presented by puzzles. Below, we see how this can, in fact, be exploited when a speaker decides to disclose a piece of news but abstains from giving the particulars of it. Instead, a pre-announcement with the catch-word 'terrible' sets the puzzle for the recipient who has to work his way out of it step by step:

- D: I-I-I had something- terrible t'tell you. So // uh
—> R: How terrible is it.
D: Uh, th- as worse it could be
(.8)
—> R: W- y'mean Edna?
D: Uh yah.
—> R: Whad she do, die?
D: Mm:hm,

(Teresaki, 1976, p. 29)

It is only natural that troubles-telling, as one of the areas where problems are located, stimulates the tendency in human beings to search for solutions to the problems. Thus, on receipt of a troubles-announcement, the recipient recommends a new course of action which is recognizable as a potential solution to the problem.

The link between the on-going problem and its solution is commonly observable in the sequential ordering of the two: troubles-telling first, advice second. Thus the recognition of advice partly lies in its placement after an utterance containing a trouble. It has already been mentioned earlier that a variety of meanings can be attached to 'Why don't you come and see me sometimes' (Ch. 2). The same utterance is analyzed (Schegloff 1984a; Heritage,

1984a) as a 'real' question and as an 'invitation'. Here, we can draw attention to another of its potentialities: it may function as advice, on the assumption that it follows a teller's complaint, say, on 'loneliness'.

In this sequential ordering, speakers do not normally have difficulties in recognizing advice. If any problems arise, they usually are due to the fact that the person who is given advice is not fully informed about the referents used therein and therefore, fails to see how the recommended action can solve the problem:

- S: I can't reach the solicitor on the phone.
 A: Give Frances a ring and find out.
 S: What's Frances got to do with this?
 A: She worked for a solicitor once, she would know what to do under the circumstances.

(unrecorded)

It is by means of this underlying link that a solution, even when it appears in a statement format can still be heard as advice. For example, in:

- A: I'm out of petrol.
 B: There's a garage round the corner.

Grice (1975) proposes that so long as Speaker B thinks that the garage is open and has petrol to sell, he will be observing the maxim of relevance. Here the statement replaces a directive 'Get your petrol from the garage which is round the corner', but it is the same principle of having a troubles-terminating capacity that makes this statement relevant to the announcement of trouble.

It may be noticeable at this point that we are drifting from the tangible sequence to a less tangible area of the 'troubles-terminating' capacity of advice. The drift is intentional because the relationship between a trouble and a piece of advice is more flexible than the sequential rules applying to a number of pairs. For example, it is said that what gives an 'answer' the properties of answerhood is the fact that it is placed after a question, and

changing this order can only create examples of nonsense. Similarly, acceptances can only follow invitations rather than the other way round. When it comes to troubles/advice pairs, however, advice can be placed before the trouble, a fact which suggests that the link between the two is more than that of a sequential ordering. For example:

- S: Can I give you some advice, darling?
 A: Ye::s?
 S: Don't wear those trousers again.
 A: Oh, wh::y?
 S: They make you look larger on the tummy and the bottom.
 A: Ohh (.) hh hah:: ha::

(Ext. 8, pp. 250-1, lines 16-21)

As the initial turn specifies in advance that the forthcoming directive is advice, Speaker A's 'Oh, wh::y?' is an attempt to inquire about the nature of her trouble, an attempt to find out what will cease to be a trouble as a result of not wearing the trousers.¹

This flexibility may raise an interesting question: can a trouble be told without advice becoming conditionally relevant? It is our belief that so long as the trouble is a 'live' one, advice is one of the conditionally relevant seconds in this sequence, but its place can be taken by other relevant actions because of the face threatening nature of advice.²

4.2 Hesitation markers in advice turns

An outstanding feature of the advice turns after troubles-telling is that they are heavily marked with sentential breaks, new sentence starts, repetitions, pauses and hesitation sounds. In addition, the word sey (literally 'thing', used when one cannot find the right word) and falan or filan (sometimes together falan filan, roughly meaning 'something like that') frequently appear in these turns. For example:

- S: I can't tell you how many mosquitoes, how many mosquitoes
we have at night.
(0.2)
- > A: Well then, do the thingumbob, how do they call it, you know,
make a mosquito-net or something over the bed

(Ext. 12, p. 259, lines 3-4)

A's turn in this example starts with the sound (e) translated as 'well then', which connects the turn to the previous troubles-telling and marks the forthcoming activity as 'advice' (see 4.4.2). This is followed by a temporary word substitute, 'thingumbob'. This, as well as the next two items 'how do they call it' and 'you know' give the impression that the speaker is postponing the advice because she has not yet found the right words to use in it. The words in question are 'mosquito-net' which replace 'thingumbob' in the edited version. So far seems to be explicable. But even after the required words have been found, hesitation lingers on; yet another item of uncertainty, 'something' appears. The final part of the advice, 'over the bed' rules out the possibility that 'mosquito-net' too is a substitute for the still unfound word or words; indeed, what else can be put over the bed for mosquito avoidance if not a mosquito-net? In other words, so far as the trouble is concerned, 'mosquito-net' fits perfectly well into the troubles terminating potentiality of the directive. Therefore, even if the other hesitation markers in this turn are to be explained as the speaker's search for some words, the positioning of 'something' allows no such explanation. We shall later come back to the frequent usage of 'something' or 'the like' in advice turns. For the time being, it is only presented as evidence of the indecisiveness and vagueness that commonly accompany advice-giving.

So far as these markers are concerned, the most eye-catching example in the data is the following:

- O: Given that it is a boy, and you want him to be educated=
 E: =We do.
 —→ O: In the house- that is, I would say, I, even find a house with a garden, a house or something, that is, in the manner of the thing, that self-sacrifice or something, that is, to satisfy the child- that is, look, he has dropped out of school or whatever twenty days before (graduation).
 E: How can I pay the rent of such a house, my friend?

(Ext. 19, p. 278, lines 7-10)

O starts a conditional sentence 'Given that it is a boy and you want him to be educated' which progresses perfectly grammatically and without any hesitation markers until the first part of the conditional is completed. The second section which contains the actual advice, contrasts dramatically with the precision of the first. Yani 'that is' which is used when one wants to clarify an ambiguity, appears four times, filan or falan 'or something', 'something like that', 'whatever', 'and the like', etc. appears three times, and sey 'thing' once. Grammaticality is broken straight after the production of the first word evde 'in the house'. Further on in the same sentence it becomes clear that this interruption is caused by the wrong selection of the locality: de 'in'; the speaker, in fact, wanted to say 'out of the house', bahceli bi ev 'a house with a garden'. Nonetheless, before the correction is made, there appears the first of the yani usages, though what follows does not add to or clarify or correct evde. Then comes ben derimki 'I would say', the implications of which we shall explain later. This gets interrupted with an unnecessary repetition of ben 'I', which itself is left uncompleted, the next word hatta 'even' is suspended in the air without adding any more to the meaning of its context, and the advice which at long last appears 'find a house with a garden' accommodates yet another repetition bi ev 'a house', and a marker of uncertainty, filan, 'something'. Following that, 'find a house with a garden' is supported by further remarks on two parental obligations. The first of these is presented in such disorder that the overall meaning can be captured only from a single word in a cluster 'that is, in the manner of the thing, that self-sacrifice or something', presumably replacing 'you have to

make some self-sacrifice'. Then, preceded by another elaboration marker 'that is', the second one is introduced 'to satisfy the child', with again a possibility of replacing 'you have to satisfy the child' or 'you have to keep the child happy'. Then, by using bakin 'look' to draw special attention to the dramatic failure of the boy (that he has dropped out of school twenty days before graduation) the speaker justifies all stages of his advice. This, of course, is loosely connected to the beginning of the conditional 'if you want him to be educated' which was already confirmed by the other speaker, 'We do'.

The argument clumsily presented here is this: 'Despite the fact that he's dropped out of school, if you still want him to be educated, you have to make a self-sacrifice and get hold of a new house with a garden where he can keep animals as he likes'. It is interesting that the speaker who is faced with such rhetorical chaos has no difficulty in picking up only the essential among the rest and responding merely to the advice. Indeed, in the following turn an objection is raised on the grounds of high cost that 'a new house with a garden' would involve.

These hesitation markers suggest that advice is given reluctantly. Some may attribute this reluctance to the fact that advice is a directive by way of which one speaker prompts another to take a certain course of action and as all directives put impositions on the recipient to a varying degree, the advice-giver should show his disinclination in doing so. Some, in fact, evaluate mitigation in the same way and say that directives which can be categorized as 'petitions', 'pleas', and 'suggestions' have to be mitigated so as to emphasize their distinct character as compared to the aggravated and unmitigated requests which go under the category of 'orders' (Labov and Fanschel, 1977, p. 63). More specifically, where there are two speakers on equal terms, neither has the right to give an order and this equality should be reflected in speech by the use of mitigation so as to avoid the recipient of a directive

reading in the 'Do X' form the authority that a speaker can exercise in, say, 'a command'. Although hesitation and mitigation (the latter is also relevant here, as we shall see such techniques in the next section) seem to be related to the sphere of authority of the person who is giving the directive, there are problems in deriving the function of an utterance from such linguistic features. The main reason is that in troubles-talk the presence of troubles-telling prior to the directive is an indication in its own right that the directive is advice, and as has been proposed earlier, the troubles-terminating aspect of the directive will also help the listener to recognize its true nature even if it is presented in a form which covers other speech activities. For example, in a paragraph explaining the functions of 'injunction mitigators' such as 'why don't you' and 'would you like to...', Schegloff (1984a) writes:

"A rule for its use might be that it can front or precede any injunctive form. It might, I suppose, be made a 'sociolinguistic' rule, in the narrow sense of that term, if its use is made contingent on certain relative statuses between speaker and recipient(s) and so on. The rule might be said to transform the syntactic form from 'injunctive' to 'question', and the action, accordingly, from 'command' to 'request', 'invitation' or 'suggestion'. And certainly, in a wide range of cases that we can imagine or invent, that transformation seems to be what is involved. In such cases, we would have provided for a recipient not hearing in the utterance a question, but a mitigated injunction, or an invitation, and so on, though, interestingly enough, a question would still be available to a literal analysis, and so declining the invitation might be done by treating the utterance for the question which it could be proposed to contain. But then we might note that in the present case, B₁ (Why don't you come and see me sometimes), the utterance would be an invitation without the mitigator. And other injunctions do not seem to allow the use of a mitigator, so that if one is used, it does not mitigate an injunction, but rather makes it sarcastic, as in 'Why don't you go away and leave me alone'. In short, whereas the forms I have for now named 'injunction mitigators' may be operators or particles of a sort, what one of them is doing in any particular case will depend on what it is attached to and where that is placed."

(p. 32)

As the function of advice is therefore guaranteed by its sequential location, hesitation and mitigation are clearly in the turn for a different reason. Here we will evaluate these within the framework of politeness as

signs of face considerations while doing an FTA, and markers of a dispreferred turn.

4.3 Advice as an FTA

Why should advice threaten the troubles-teller's face? Comments on advice-giving found in the literature all point in the same direction. One of these is by Wardhaugh (1985). Although we are not interested in the preconditions of an utterance as in Speech Act theory, his suggestions about advice-giving activity from the viewpoints of both speakers may add some insights to the progress of this argument. From the advice-giver's point of view, he says:

"What conditions must prevail if you are genuinely to offer advice to another person in a conversation? First of all, you must assume that he is likely to do (or not to do) something if you refrain from offering advice, and you must regard a different course of action as more appropriate for him and in his best interests. In offering advice, you want the other person to know this, to know what you think, and also to understand that you believe that the course of action you are setting forth is quite within his capabilities. Moreover, you assume that the other person wants to know all this. If these are the necessary preconditions for advising another person, it is very easy to appreciate how the process can go wrong. Your perception of what someone else proposes to do or not to do may be incorrect, your opinion about what he might find an acceptable alternative may be without foundation, or your role as a possible adviser may be called into question".

(p. 184)

From the advice taker's point of view:

"You may not find it easy to respond to an utterance like 'Why don't you do X?'. It is not just a simple question, but a suggestion that you actually do X. If you are not anxious or willing to do X, you will probably have to provide some kind of reason for not doing it. But something more is involved: the speaker has suggested a course of action to you, and in a sense, has put himself into a superior position - particularly if you proceed to act on the suggestion - for he has proposed a solution you apparently did not see or were reluctant to adopt without the proffered advice. We can observe that if you consider the suggestion to be a poor one, you can, in refusing it, exhibit a certain superiority of your own".

(p. 185)

In accordance with this, Leech (1983) claims that the person giving advice is not observing Politeness Maxims, especially those which are closely related to the avoidance of praising the self and dispraising the other:³

"The reason for regarding advice as impolite, of course, is that although the recommended action A may be considered beneficial to the addressee, the actual speech act of advising may offend both the Modesty and Approbation Maxims, because it takes for granted that S is superior in knowledge, or experience, or judgement etc. to H".

(p 140)

In the Conversational Analysis area, Jefferson and Lee (1981) call advice a 'precursor of dispute' because its occurrence after troubles-telling in ordinary conversation usually triggers resistance in the troubles-teller. E.g.:

- Lottie: How's your foot:-
 Emma: =t'hh Oh: it's healing beautifully.
 Lottie: Good:d
 Emma: The other one may have to come off on the other toe I've got it in that but it's not infected.
 (0.8)
 —> Lottie: Why don't you use some stuff on it.
 —> Emma: 't I've got peroxide I put on it but uh 'hhhh the other day I put a new tape on it every day so 'hhhh hhh
 —> Lottie: Why don't you get that nay-uh::
 Revlon nail::
 —> Emma: 'hhh Well that's not therapeutic Lottie really it says on the (0.4) thing e-th-when you g-ah this peroxide is. uh: kind of uh, hh 'hhh hh
 Lottie: What do you mean uh th-u doctors use it

(p. 406)

In search of an explanation for this phenomenon, and why people do not go for the option of accepting advice even without necessarily intending to make use of the suggested ideas, they conclude that showing resistance to advice is an interactional matter. The authors propose that 'proffering of advice in the course of troubles-telling... may implicate an altogether different form of talk, i.e. not troubles-telling, but that which various

interaction analysts call the Service Encounter, in which the criterial categories are, say, Service-Seeker and Service Supplier (the relevant sub-categories in this case being Advice-Seeker and Advice-Giver)' (p. 410). In troubles-telling the most commonly used reciprocity form is 'Affiliation' (Jefferson and Lee give 'Oh my' and 'Jesus' as examples of it) and in Service Encounters it is 'Service Supplying'. Mismatching of the pairs, i.e. Service Supplying in ordinary troubles-telling and Affiliation in Service Encounters will be perceived as inadequacies of both, resulting in ungrounded authority for the former, and inapt servicing for the latter.

These analyses of advice converge on the point of the advice-giver's sphere or privilege of knowledge which is indisputable in specialized contexts. But in ordinary conversation it may suggest that the advice-giver is unrightly claiming specialization.

In Turkish contexts too the preference is to disclaim any expertise unless it is specifically asked for. For instance:

- A: You should have moved that piece in.
 E: That's true. (.) Well, what's done is done.
 A: Not that I know this (game) well enough.
 E: Surely, You know it better than I do.
 A: Never, Sir. I move (the pieces along) by counting my steps.
 E: I do too, but as it is embarrassing, I'm trying to hide it.
 A: Hah· hah· ha

(Ext. 20, pp. 279-80, lines 1-7)

Speaker E is visiting a couple, S and A, who were his ex-students at the university. While the wife A is watching her husband play backgammon with E, as a good hostess, she is also providing moral support for her ex-tutor, rather than taking her husband's side. But possibly because she feels that her supportive remark in turn 1, 'You should have moved that piece in' can also be interpreted as a claim that she knows the game better than her high-powered guest, in turn 3, she produces an utterance to cancel this potential implication, 'Not that I know this game well enough'. The academic, too,

despite his higher status over the couple, is at present in a visitor's role, and should reject any implications of his superiority, and this he does by giving more credit to A, 'Surely, you know it better than I do'. It is interesting that at this point, the talk turns into a competition between the two speakers on their own incompetence, first A emphatically rejecting the other's previous sign of modesty by 'Never' and also by inserting a deferential address form 'Sir', and then carrying on to give evidence for her incompetence 'I move (the pieces along) by counting my steps' which is clearly a sign of non-professionalism (good backgammon players need not count the spaces on the board; on the throw of the dice they know automatically to which point the piece has to be moved). Then, E makes a counter claim, 'I do too, but as it's embarrassing, I'm trying to hide it'.⁴ Such a confession coming from somebody whose superiority in intellectual matters is indisputable creates a comical situation, hence A's laughter.

However, expertise may be legitimately brought in by either party. From the advice-giver's point of view, permission can be asked for and obtained prior to the placement of advice. This is reminiscent of obtaining permission for a variety of speech activities by participants whose speaking rights are somewhat restricted (Sacks, 1975a, also Nofsinger, 1975):⁵

A: Mum can I ask you a question?

B: Yes, dear.

A: Question

M: Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a comment on this point.

C: Yes, go ahead.

M: Comment

Similarly, speakers in Turkish can place a request for such a 'ticket' prior to the placement of advice:

S: Can I give you some advice, darling?
 A: Yes: : s?
 S: Don't wear those trousers again.

(Ext. 8, p. 250, lines 16-18)

Alternatively, the one who is experiencing a difficulty may allow the other to give instructions:

—> R: Shall I cut this into the pan?
 N: Hold on, let me give you a (.) plate.
 (0.9)
 —> N: Cut it into this, Rukiye.
 R: Hm-hm.

(Ext. 7, pp. 248-9, lines 13-16)

What is inherent in the request for advice is the first speaker's announcement of his or her incapability of handling a certain trouble. By the same token, when requesting advice, Speaker 1 is normally heard as referring to Speaker 2's expertise or rights (for example in the case above, the speakers are cooking in N's house and for N's visitors) in dealing with the specific problem in question. Also:

S: You remember, you gave me some (0.2) oxtail soup
 A: Yes.
 —> S: I've still got that, how do I make it?
 A: Ah, Peyami should read you what (the instructions) say on the back. I don't remember now, some go in hot water and some in
 S: Hmm.
 A: cold.
 S: All right.
 —> A: You stir it, you don't uh need to add anything, just put it in
 S: Hmm.
 —> A: and stir it.

(Ext. 12, pp. 259-60, lines 7-16)

In this instance, S, the aunt of A, is A's superior both in age and in household matters, 'cooking' is one. However, by appealing to A for the instructions of preparing a packet of soup, she submits to A's knowledge of a foreign culture and cuisine, where this packet comes from.

There seems to be one rule related to all these: the advice-seeker, having first appealed to the other's dexterity in a certain matter, cannot then turn down the advice, contrary to what happens in unauthorized advice situations. For example:

- A: How would you read this?
 O: Zaylophone. This 'x' is not pronounced, if it comes at the beginning of a word, it is not pronounced.
 A: I know that.
 O: If you know it, then why do you ask?
 A: No (.) to see whether you know it too hehh hehh (.hhh)

(Ext. 21, p. 280, lines 1-5)

O's serious exhibition of reading superiority urges A to claim equality with 'I know that' which, in turn, gives O the right to accuse the other of the misapplication of a conversational rule, 'help, if not needed, should not be asked for'. What O fails to see here, of course, is that A's initial question was an exam question and not a request for help. (see Levinson, 1978, for differences in such activity types).

It may have already caught the reader's eye that if a speaker's expertise is called for or warranted, the ensuing directive appears in the crude 'Do X' form and comes without any hesitation markers. In this respect, the two cases, one where advice is asked for and one where it is not, stand in contrast to one another:

1. "In the house- that is, I would say, I even find a house with a garden, a house or something, that is, in the manner of the thing, that self-sacrifice or something, that is, to satisfy the child- that is, look he has dropped out of school or whatever twenty days before (graduation)"
2. "You stir it, you don't uh need to add anything, just put it in and stir it".

The conclusion that can be reached from this is that hesitation markers in giving advice display the advice giver's reticence in claiming a superior role and thus threatening the other's face.

4.4 Advice as a dispreferred turn

Having established that advice can be a face threatening act, next we can look for the dispreferred turn features in this environment, apart from the hesitation markers. These are observable on two levels:

- i) mitigation of advice, and
- ii) extra features within the advice turn.

4.4.1 Mitigation of advice

Examination of the data reveals that the tendency in speech is to mitigate the crude directive 'Do X' by using several techniques most of which serve the purpose of dissociating the giver from advice. One of these is to tell the troubled person what could, should, might be done, rather than what he could, should, might do. The shift of reference from personal obligations to expected procedures in the world, in other words, impersonalizing the situation, changes advice into a kind of wise-saying:

- R: Can you find super oil?
 A: There's no super oil, my friend.
 R: Oh, that's bad news. (The reason why I'm asking this is that)
 My father-in-law is coming on Saturday.
 —> A: It can be found but one has to look for it.

(Ext. 22, p. 281, lines 1-4)

[S is complaining about the price of the generators which are essential to cope with the recent electricity cuts]

- S: They're thinking of getting one for the flat we're buying-well, that I've bought (.) but apparently it costs one million two hundred thousand liras, and that is without the recent price increases.
 (0.4)
 —> N: If it is shared (by all the tenants) it will be cheap.

(Ext. 11, p. 257, lines 6-7)

On occasions reference to the conditions in which the troubles-terminating action can be performed does the work of the directive indirectly. An example of this in English is quoted earlier:

- A: I'm out of petrol.
B: There's a garage round the corner.

(Grice, 1975, p. 51)

Similarly, in the next extract a directive 'Buy your coffee from here' is replaced by 'There's coffee here':

- S: Is there still a shortage of coffee in Turkey?
N: It can be found on the black market (.) For ONE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED Liras.
—> S: You know that there is Turkish coffee here.
N: There is, we'll buy, we'll take some with us on our way back.

(Ext 18, pp. 276-7, lines 9-12)

At times, recitation of proverbs emphasizes the traditionally accepted ways of dealing with matters:⁶

- T: Semih had said 'I will come during the holiday' (but) look, there's still no news from him.
(0.5)
—> H: The dervish who had known how to wait was eventually rewarded with his heart's desire.
T: Waiting I can take if I know that he's coming.

(Ext. 23, pp. 281-2, lines 4-6)

At other times a straightforward 'Do X' is avoided by putting advice in a concise story form. After the troubles-telling, the advice giver narrates a similar experience that he/she happens to know of, or has experienced personally. The correlation between the story and the complainable situation is usually left to the troubles-teller to make:

[L wants to change from shift work to a regular job, but she is afraid that it might create some gossip among her office friends if she is moved to regular working hours and also she is frightened to talk to her director]

L: And then, I've got this thing, problem, aunty. As I'm in the same group again, if it becomes the object of gossip, it will be a disaster. That's why

S: O. h, I know such things very well.⁷ I, how do you call it, when I wanted to get my thingumbob, when I wanted to get my retirement, I went to talk to the director. I must admit Turhan was very helpful, too, in solving this problem. Is it? Well, I accepted it like this: if he is somebody, I am somebody too. If he says something (rude), I will say something twice (as rude). I accepted it as such and walked into his room

(Ext. 12, pp. 260-1, lines 17-18)

Here, following Jefferson (1978) we would like to make a distinction between the introduction of a story which has a particular relationship with the prior talk, and the introduction of a narrative just because something said at a particular moment in conversation reminds the story-teller of a story which may or may not be 'topically coherent'. The story-telling after troubles-telling is 'methodical' in the sense that the introduction of it is not 'by chance', it serves a purpose, and it contains elements which can be used as a source to terminate the current trouble.

Interrogative sentence structure is also quite common in advice turns and is routinely used when hypothesizing is encouraged with questions like:

A. What if you asked the woman whether you could use the kitchen?

(Ext. 9, p. 254, line 21)

N. What if you went to the faculty (Hospital) as well?

(Ext. 24, p. 282, line 2)

An alternative usage which is the most easily recognizable and most readily associated with the activity of advice giving is what Schegloff (1984a) calls the 'injunction mitigator', 'Why don't you-'.

Its equivalent in Turkish is constructed almost identically with the exception of the verb tense used which is Present Continuous:

- N: Ay: : we don't have any lemons left.
(0.3)
—→ R: In that case, why don't you put vinegar in instead?
N: We don't have vinegar either.

(Ext. 7, p. 248, lines 8-10)

Neden sirke koymuyorsun

Why vinegar you are not putting =

= koy - mu - yor - sun

to put - negative - progressive - verb suffix for 2nd pers. sing.

Alternatively, the advice-giver can contemplate pessimistically and use items such as 'I think', 'presumably', 'perhaps' which give the turn an interrogative tone:⁸

- A: There isn't anything underneath. Yesterday, they played in the balcony for a while, he possibly caught a cold
.....
—→ S: ... It isn't possible I suppose for him to wear pants or something
A: Believe me, we are doing the thingumbob. The circumciser said even on the first day, that he should wear pants, but (he) insists that (the pants) hurt him (more)

(Ext. 5, pp. 242-3, lines 8-13)

In some cases the advice-giver checks in advance why the suggested course of action cannot be implemented as in:

- N: I wonder whether her children are still alive.
—→ S: Well then, haven't they got a telephone or something?
N: No, they haven't.

(Ext. 7, p. 248, lines 6-7)

To summarize the mitigation techniques mentioned so far, we have:

- i) impersonalizing the situation
- ii) use of proverbs
- iii) use of past stories
- iv) questioning the conditions

4.4.2 Extra features within advice turns

a) One recurrent feature in Turkish is the sound 'e' which functions like the English phrases 'well then' or 'in that case'. Contrary to its counterparts in English, it does not achieve any other linguistic functions except for forming a bridge between troubles-telling and advice. It does not appear in the written language and does not qualify for a place in the dictionary. It draws attention to the fact that, had it not been for the troubles-telling, advice would not have been placed in the talk. It always precedes the advice and does not appear, for instance, somewhere in the middle of it. It does not occur in cases where advice precedes the trouble, but after troubles-telling its occurrences are numerous in the data:

A: Well then, isn't there anything (else) to eat? Eat other things.

(Ext 9, p. 253, line 11)

A: Well then, do the thingumbob, how do they call it, you know, make a lacy tent or something over the bed

(Ext. 12, p. 259, line 4)

S: Well then, haven't they got a telephone or something?

(Ext. 7, p. 248, line 6)

b) Research into English has already revealed the usage of certain moves placed prior to dangerous activities with face threatening potentiality, to safeguard them and to diminish their impact.⁹ Calling these 'disarming moves' Edmundson (1981) suggests that speakers take measures before launching an

offensive verbal attack with a defensive strategy of 'Before you object to my asking you to do P, I'll apologize in advance for asking you' (p. 122). For Hewitt and Stokes (1975) these (they use the term 'disclaimers' instead of 'disarmers') are but one of the ways of repairing impaired interaction, the other examples being 'accounts' and 'quasi theories'.¹⁰

Baker (1975) makes a list of a number of these prefaces:

- I don't want to offend you but...
- This is *none* of my business but...
- I don't want to prejudice your decision but...
- This is probably not what you're asking for, but...

(P. 41)

Similarly in Turkish such clusters as:

- Sen de mutlaka yapmissindir ya...
You must have done this already but...
- Sen de suphesiz bunu dusunmussundur ya...
No doubt you have thought about this but...
- Akil vermek gibi olmasin ama...
May it not be considered that I know better but...
- Allahbilir tursucuya tursu satiyorum ama...
I don't want to sound as if I'm selling pickles to the pickle-seller, but...

are inserted adjacent to advice.

c) A conditional structure frequently appears in troubles-talk specimens in the crude form of:

'If you were to ask me, I would say do X'.

This technique seems to be in use with the purpose of legitimizing the occurrence of advice by converting a sequence in which advice has not been asked for, into a sequence in which it has. Elliptical usages are popular, either

the first part or the second part of the structure usually does the job of the whole:

O: In the house- that is, I would say, I, even find a house with a garden,

(Ext 19, p. 278, line 9)

S: Kemal, I mean, if you were to do the thingumbob, ask me, don't do this as a degree.

(Ext. 25, p. 283, line 3)

d) Another conditional structure is formed by adding to the main sentence a new phrase, Istersen, 'If you like' which indicates that the advised course of action is a tentative one, applicable only on the condition that it meets the trouble-teller's approval:

A Advertise in the paper, if you (like) want

(Ext 8, p 250, line 10)

e) A further characteristic feature in advice turns is that they sometimes accommodate address terms. One of the functions of these terms in English is to soften the impact of an FTA which has just been launched. For example:

Woman. Honey, you're not nice

(Churchill, 1978, p. 128)

W: Lindsey

M: Not now, Bobbie, I can't talk.

(Churchill, 1978, p. 70)

Brown and Levinson (1978) provide an example from the Watergate tapes where Peterson uses an address term in conjunction with a piece of advice to Nixon:

I don't think you ought to do that, Mr President

(p. 189)

Similarly, in Turkish:

N: Don't buy a second hand cooker, dear, if you're going to buy one let it be a good one.

(Ext. 11, p. 257, line 11)

S: Kemal, I mean, if you were to do the thingumbob - ask me, don't do this as a degree.

(Ext. 25, p. 283, line 3)

N: Cut it into this, Rukiye.

(Ext. 7, p. 249, line 15)

S Can I give you some advice, darling?

(Ext. 8, p. 250, line 16)

f) The frequent usage of items such as falan filan (and the like, and so on, etc.) and gibi bir sey (something like that, something similar) in advice turns has already been mentioned earlier. Examples:

S: It isn't possible I suppose for him to wear pants or something.

(Ext. 5, p. 243, line 12)

O: ...find a house with a garden, a house or something.

(Ext. 19, p. 278, line 9)

What purpose do they serve in such a location? One possibility could be to broaden the area of applicability of the suggestion. For example, in Telefonlari falan yokmu? 'Haven't they got a telephone or something?', 'something' may leave enough room for the advice giver to manoeuvre towards other alternatives which might vaguely fit into the same category as

the definitely stated object that it accompanies (telephone in this case) should the definitely stated object prove to be unobtainable. The people in question may not have a telephone but may have 'something' which would make a contact possible, a neighbour's telephone perhaps. However, in an earlier reference to 'Make a mosquito-net or something over the bed', it has already come to our notice that 'something' is superfluous in this context because for mosquito avoidance there can be no other alternative to hang over the bed apart from a mosquito-net. A more plausible explanation, therefore, is that the advice-giver is utilizing 'something' to bring in a sense of vagueness to advice, to make it sound less precise and less expert-like. This is rather obvious in

'Well, isn't there such a place or something at the polytechnic?'

where even the definitely stated object, 'place', is so vague itself that the troubles-teller takes it as meaning some sort of a restaurant whereas the advice-giver uses it for 'a grocery' (see in full on p. 254) where he can buy his food.

4.5 Post-advice activities

Unwarranted advice is routinely trailed by rejectory activities on the following grounds:

- i) What is recommended has already been thought about by the troubles-teller, therefore is redundant.
- ii) What is recommended does not take into account relevant factors therefore has to be declined.
- iii) Both (i) and (ii).

4.5.1 Redundancy of advice

Advice is recurrently turned down because the recommended action does not provide a new solution to the problem:

- S: If it's such a sensitive subject, now, you want to make use of the sources there as well=
 K: =Yes
 S: Kemal, I mean, if you were to do the thingumbob, ask me, don't do this as a degree.
 —> K: I have already got that in my mind, anyway.

(Ext 25, pp 282-3, lines 1-4)

Redundancy becomes more acute when the recommended action proves not only to have been thought of by the other party, but also to have been implemented:

- S: I can't tell you how many mosquitoes, how many mosquitoes we have at night.
 (0.2)
 A: Well then, do the thingumbob, how do they call it, you know, make a mosquito-net or something over the bed=
 —> S: =We have, still, with no success.
 A: True (.) I know how bad it is. When we were in Istanbul we had a lot of them too.

(Ext. 12, p. 259, lines 3-6)

This is found to dampen the advice-giver's enthusiasm for finding other solutions to the trouble, and more often than not the sequence ends with a compliant response as in Ext. 12, above.

There are also instances where the suggestion is claimed redundant because the troubles-teller already knows how to deal with his trouble in a way that happens to be other than the recommended one. For example:

- A: My cooker is very old, it's almost falling to pieces.
 N: It is old, yes.
 A: I'll buy a better cooker, a more convenient one, I'll bring a cooker from there, I want to bring one.
 N: Don't buy a second-hand cooker, dear, if you're going to buy one, let it be a good one.

- > A: Yes, a good one, a good second-hand one. Because their prices differ a lot, the second-hand machines are always at
 N: I see.
 —> A: half price.

(Ext. 11, pp. 257-8, lines 8-14)

Here, the advice is made redundant because the troubles-teller has got a different alternative in her mind to cope with the trouble.

4.5.2 Declination of advice

When the advice proves to be an inapplicable prescription for the trouble the teller turns down the recommendations:

- H: They used to cover it with a cardboard box.
 —> A: Well, my whatsit (.) worry is that, I mean, if we cover it, he will turn to one side, and the box moving like that, will rub against it, and so on, it will hurt more.

(Ext. 14, p. 271, lines 35-36)

- A: Oh well, tell the woman to get something and make it especially for you.
 —> S: I don't eat dinner at the woman- woman's place, dear.

(Ext. 9, p. 253, lines 13-14)

- G: It hurts, we went to the doctor yesterday because of it. It hurts and it won't bend properly.
 N: Well then, what if you went to the faculty (hospital) as well?
 —> G: I am registered at the Social Services (hospital).

(Ext. 24, p. 282, lines 1-3)

While statement of reasons is one of the ways of declining advice, another and perhaps a more tactful way is to put the accounts into an interrogative format:¹¹

- A: Well, isn't there such a place or something at the polytechnic?
 S: No, you see, the place for students-
 A: NO, no, emm, isn't there a little place where you can do shopping?
 —> S: Yes, but where can I cook it, how shall I do it?

(Ext. 9, p. 254, lines 17-20)

O: In the house- that is, I would say, I, even find a house with a garden, a house or something, that is, in the manner of the thing, that self-sacrifice or something, that is, to satisfy the child- that is, look, he has dropped out of school or whatever twenty days before (graduation).

—> E. How can I pay the rent of such a house, my friend?

(Ext. 19, p. 278, lines 9-10)

The similarity between this example and an excerpt taken from an English setting is striking both in form and content:

C: ...'hh a : n' uh by god I can' even send my kid tuh public school b'cuz they're so god damn lousy.

D. We : ll, that's a generality.

C: 'hhh

D. We've got sm pretty (good schools).

—> C. Well, yeah but where in the hell em I gonna live.

(Pomerantz, 1984, p. 72)

Finally a subtle rejection case:

S: M .. has resigned, do you know?

A: A : : : :

S: She gave her letter in this morning=

A: =So, what's going to happen?

S: I don't know.

A: Advertise in the paper, if you (like) want.
(0 2)

—> S: Well, yes, we'll do something or other.

(Ext. 8, pp. 249-50, lines 5-11)

This case is interesting because there is no overt rejection directed to the idea of advertising the post in the paper. However, S is not showing overt enthusiasm for it either. By saying 'We'll do something or other' he is indicating that the matter needs to be thought about more carefully, as a result of which a solution will be found. As there is no direct objection to the idea of the post being advertised in the paper, this may be taken as a sign that what A is suggesting may well be the solution arrived at ultimately, but for the purposes of 'here and now', S manages to reject the idea by not accepting it.

4.5.3 Redundancy and Declination

The combination of the two is not very common and the following is the only example in the data, but however rarely it occurs, its presence justifies a mention:

- A: Ay, it really is very difficult.
 S: When you finish this, give yourself an interval, darling
 A: I have been thinking the same but (on the other hand) there isn't much time left until June.

(Ext. 8, p. 251, lines 22-24)

One final point before concluding this section. By concentrating mainly on advice rejection cases we may have created the wrong impression that in Turkish troubles are never told in order to get advice or that if so they are told in a specific way so as to signal the teller's request for it. Neither is the case. Although the data is not very helpful in this area, at least our competence in the language tells us that troubles may at times be told specifically to get advice, especially when the advice-giver's expertise in the matter is of mutual knowledge. However, there is no way of reading at this stage the teller's intentions, i.e. whether he is requesting advice by telling a trouble, or just reporting an unfavourable event.¹² This can be unfolded only in the third turn with the acceptance or rejection of advice (see also the procedure for recognizing a first turn in a sequence, Ch. 2.2).

4.5.4 Negotiation Stage

An interesting fact about the complaint/advice/declination triplet is that the sequence does not end at the declination point and that the completion of the triplet opens up space for a further activity. This is especially acute in the case of interrogative declinations (e.g. How can I pay the rent of such a house, my friend?). When the advice is eliminated, the

initial trouble regains momentum and requires another response. This response is most commonly advice-related although there are a few examples where it is not. When it is advice-related, the sequence and simultaneously the topic get extended similarly to what happens with topic continuing acknowledgements. The difference is that while topic continuing acknowledgements form the first part of the major pair, advice + declination couplets constitute a variety of insertion types within a pair the second part of which is left unclosed. To demonstrate these points we can have a look at one of the examples where the talk turns into a negotiation as a result of the advice-giver's renewed attempts to solve the problem, carrying along the sequence and the topic at the same time.

- 1 S: I miss meals like this in the evenings. For supper every even-
 2 ing it's fish and chips, every evening it's fish and chips, with-
 3 out fail.
 4 A: Come off it.
 5 S: I swear.
 6 A: Well then, isn't there anything else to eat? Eat other things.
 7 Other
 8 S: No, I can't, there's nothing else there that I can eat.
 9 A: Oh well, tell the woman to get something and make it especially
 10 for you.
 11 S: I don't eat dinner at the woman- woman's place, dear=
 12 A: =No, tell her to make it.
 13 S: I eat at the polytechnic, and the woman eats at half past
 14 five. At half past five I'm at the polytechnic.
 15 A: Well, isn't there such a place or something at the poly-
 16 technic?
 17 S: No, you see, the place for students-
 18 A: NO, no, emm, isn't there a little place where you
 19 can do shopping?
 20 S: Yes, but where can I cook it, how shall I do it?
 21 A: What if you asked the woman whether you could use the kitchen?
 22 S: Ah, the woman doesn't let me use it.
 23 A: Doesn't she, I see.
 24 S: The woman is very house-conscious.
 25 A: I see.
 26 (0.5)
 27 A: Was it her who answered the phone yesterday?

(Ext. 9, pp. 253-5, lines 8-26)

S has been working abroad, at a polytechnic. This conversation takes place between him and his wife on one of his short visits home.

He brings up the food problem that he has been experiencing there, the necessity to eat 'fish and chips' every night (lines 1-3). Having acknowledged the trouble first with a sympathetic surprise response (line 4) A, then, seeks ways to solve it: 'Eat other things' (lines 6-7). This is the beginning of a succession of suggestions which comprises the negotiation stage in this talk.

The first piece of advice gets a strong declination, 'There is nothing else there that S can eat' (line 8). Failing in her first attempt, A suggests something completely different, 'Tell the woman to get something and make it especially for you' (lines 9-10). The 'woman' in question is S's landlady. This also proves to be an unsuccessful troubles-terminator, because S does not eat dinner at the bed-and-breakfast place that he stays in. A is reluctant to accept the second declination, possibly being unable to see why he cannot eat dinner at home, and insists on the same point, 'No, tell her to make it' (line 12). Realizing that A has not got the whole picture, S gives further facts about his life, that he is at the polytechnic at half past five when the landlady has dinner ready at home. Then comes a new suggestion, cooking his own food himself. But A's starting point is not very clear to S, when she says 'Isn't there such a place or something at the polytechnic', meaning a sort of a supermarket or grocery where he could buy the stuff to be cooked, S thinks that she has come back to the subject of the students' cafeteria and while he is about to provide more information about this place, 'No, you see, the place for students' and to remind her that there is nothing there to eat but 'fish and chips' A steps in to repair the misunderstanding, 'NQ, no, isn't there a little place where you can do shopping?' (lines 18-19). S gets the point, yes, there is a place where he can do shopping, but what good is it when one does not have a place to cook the food (line 20). The next suggestion is geared to dismiss this sub-category of the main trouble, 'What if you asked the woman whether you could use the kitchen?' (line 21). Another strong barrier is set up by S, 'The woman doesn't let me use it' (line 22). We can note that this

response, while being a declination implicitly covers redundancy as well, that S has already thought about and explored this idea. Reference to the woman's 'house-consciousness' is possibly used here as an explanation for why she would not allow a lodger to mess up her kitchen (line 24). Eventually the end of negotiation comes with A giving up on finding a solution to the problem with 'I see' (line 25).

Examination of these turns reveals three strategies that are adopted by the advice-giver during the negotiation period.

The first one is defending or insisting on the original advice after it has been declined:

- A: Oh well, tell the woman to get something and make it especially for you.
 S: I don't eat dinner at the woman- woman's place, dear=
 A: =No, tell her to make it.

This can be named: Hold-onto-same remedy:

Trouble 1

Advice 1

Declination of Advice 1

Defence/Renewal of Advice 1

The second is taking each declination as final and proposing a completely new solution for the main trouble, so what is offered is: New remedy for old trouble:

- i) Eat other things at the restaurant
- ii) Tell the woman to get something and make it especially for you
- iii) Buy and cook your food for yourself

are all new suggestions to eliminate the main problem of eating fish and chips every night. In formal terms this is:

Trouble 1

Advice 1a

Declination of Advice 1a

Advice 1b

Declination of Advice 1b

etc.

The third is taking the declination as representing a new troubles-spot and working on this newly emerged trouble rather than on the main one which started the troubles-talk initially. See how the advice-giver moves away from the main trouble to a newly created one in the following extract:

A: Isn't there a little place where you can do shopping?

S: Yes, but where can I cook it, how shall I do it?

A: What if you asked the woman whether you could use the kitchen?

Because the suggestion of obtaining his provisions from a 'little place' is declined on the grounds that he does not have a place to prepare the food in, this fact is treated by the advice-giver as a new matter to be concentrated on, hence the next suggestion is addressed specifically to this new problem, 'What if you asked the woman whether you could use the kitchen?', rather than directly to the main problem, so it is New remedy for new trouble.

Trouble 1

Advice 1

Declination of Advice 1 (Trouble 2)

Advice 2

Declination of Advice 2 (Trouble 3)

etc.

As it is practised here, the advice-giver can alternate between these three strategies in the course of the negotiation period.

This continuity is due to the polarization that advice giving creates between the two speakers. While the advice-giver negotiates for the solubility of the problem, the troubles-teller takes the opposite position and defends its insoluble character. The change of topic is possible only after one of them resigns from his original stance. The data in general show that this is a step more commonly taken by the advice-giver. In Ext. 9 we notice that 'I see' has such a compromising function.

It may be helpful to elaborate on this utterance as 'I see' is merely an approximation. In the actual case the troubles-recipient produces the sound 'Ha' with a falling pitch after 'kullandirtmiyomu, Hā̃:' (Doesn't she, I see) where 'Hā̃:' marks a repaired misapprehension. The nearest example of this in English is 'Oh', identifying a 'change-of-state' in the speaker, including the repair of misunderstanding (Heritage, 1984a). For example:

- B So ... we thought thet yihknow=
=if you wanna come over early. C mon over.
M 'hhhh- 'hhhh : : : : : Ah ... hhh fer dinner yih mean? hh
B. No, not fer dinner. h=
—→ M. =Oh

(p. 318)

Similarly, in Ext. 9, 'Hā̃:' is a change-of-state token displaying an attitude in effect of 'Oh, now I understand the severity of the situation'. Repeat of it in the last turn but one confirms the stance that is taken and the reluctance in following up the present topic.

Yet, there is a crucial difference between the example in English and the troubles-talk in Ext. 9. Note that once understanding is displayed with 'Oh', the invited party has to respond to the invitation in one way or another. Then the two turns in between the invitation and its response will become an inserted pair in which misunderstanding is repaired. In the troubles telling sequence, however, 'Hā̃:' will only end the trail of suggestions, leaving the implications of troubles-telling unattended.

Although resistance has to end with a token of submission so that other topics can be introduced into the talk, submission need not follow a long period of resistance. For example, the next advice-giver surrenders right after the first declination:

- N. Don't buy a second-hand cooker, dear, if you're going to buy one, let it be a good one.
 A: Yes, a good one, a good second-hand one. Because their prices differ a lot, the second hand machines are always
 —> N I see
 A. at half-price.
 N. The prices have rocketed here as well.

(Ext. 11, pp. 257-8, lines 11-15)

Submission is also demonstrated in a slightly more committed way in:

- S I can't tell you how many mosquitoes, how many mosquitoes we have at night .
 (0 2)
 A. Well then, do the thingumbob, how do they call it you know, make a mosquito-net or something over the bed=
 S: =We have, still with no success.
 —> A: True (.) I know how bad it is. When we were in Istanbul we had a lot of them too. Ay, every evening, buzz buzz buzz over our head.

(Ext. 12, p. 259, lines 3-6)

Both these two are examples in which the advice-giver manages to introduce a familiar problem and to divert the flow of the talk from the teller's trouble to his own, instead of turning it into a matter of contest. Similar responses by which the recipient makes claims to the same trouble will be dealt with in Ch. 5, it may suffice here to note that such is available to the non-persistent advice-giver but cannot logically follow a variety of advice strategies during which the giver has consistently undermined the trouble, and has committed an additional FTA. Also, topic ending acknowledgements do not appear at the topic changing point of lengthy advice sequences,

possibly because offering sympathy to the trouble-stricken would be contradictory after a long display of resistance to the trouble.

4.6 Conclusion

This brings us to a new understanding of troubles-telling and advice-giving sequences. The teller of a trouble is disclosing a problematic situation which evidently he has been unable to overcome. When this is coupled with the instinctive urge that human beings have to solve a problem, advice-giving emerges as a relevant response to troubles-telling. On the other hand, contrary to presenting puzzles or asking exam questions, announcement of trouble is not an activity through which the recipient's capabilities are tested. In fact, by suggesting solutions, the recipient will sound as if he is claiming that he can dispose of the problem which the other has failed to defeat. This falls foul of a situation where the interactional imbalance needs to be repaired rather than being damaged further. Thus, no matter how fitting the suggestion is, and in what mitigated form the advice is offered, it is unacceptable and is destined to be declined. This is not to say that Turkish conversational rules prohibit the placement of acceptance after unsolicited advice, especially when there is no or little room for confrontation, but our examples which come from informal contexts indicate that rejection is the most common turn type in post-advice position. Once the ball starts rolling, it does not stop at this point either. Each rejection creates a potential gap where the attempt at solving the problem can be renewed, and every renewal can take yet another rejection. While all these expansions provide evidence for the solution-inviting nature of troubles-telling and the face-threatening nature of advice, they collectively hold a mirror to one of the means of expanding sequences, and maintaining the talk around the same conversational topic.

NOTES

1. In fact, some forms of advice become so widely used that there is no need to spell out the trouble at all, like 'Remember kids, always say 'No' to a stranger', or 'Don't die of ignorance' (in a pamphlet issued to warn the public against AIDS).

2. 'Live' is used here to refer to a trouble which is still going on. The distinction seems to be necessary as directives following irretrievable troubles usually function as criticism for not having taken a certain course of action.

3. Leech (1983) formulates these maxims as: Approbation maxim which is minimizing dispraise of other and maximizing praise of other, and Modesty maxim which is minimizing praise of self and maximizing dispraise of self (p. 132).

4. A similar occurrence is detected in an extract found in Mura (1983):

- B: Hmm (pause) I had forgotten that you knew all that weather
stuff
K: [laughs] I really don't. I just pretend I do.

(p. 108)

However, if the first speaker claims expertise, then the next speaker may also be allowed to break the rules as in:

- Steve: Do you make things as pretty as I make them?
Peter: Prettier.

(Tannen, 1984, p. 140)

5. Nofsinger's approach to such 'tickets' covers a wider area than that of Sacks, as he includes summonses like 'Hey, Phil', and topic initiations like 'Yuh know something?', 'You know what?', 'Guess what!' as well.

6. Brown and Levinson (1978) observe that in English, too, proverbs can replace advice. Taking 'People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones', 'A stitch in time saves nine', and 'A penny saved is a penny earned' as examples, they say that 'such generalized advice may, in context, serve as criticism but as criticism with the weight of tradition, it is perhaps easier on face than other kinds of rule stating' (p. 231).

7. A similar occurrence is in the example taken from Schenkein (1978). It is interesting to note that a claim to knowledge of the trouble starts the advice turn, and reference to a personal experience finishes it off in exactly the same way:

Ellen: Fine, jus'fine thank you 'cept for this fucking infection.

Patty: Infection?

Ellen: I can't seem to get rid of this fucking, uh urinary track infection- it's been dragging on now for a couple a' months- and it's driving me up a wall hehh hehh heh

—> Patty: They're impossible I know all about it deary believe me- have you been, uh y'know to a doctor cause some penicillin or something was what finally knocked it outa' me.

(p 70)

8. Both features, i.e. pessimism and hedging verbs are evaluated by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) as strategies of negative politeness.

9. Keenan (1974) has found the same happening in the speech of a Malagasy community where the speakers prefer softening the negative intent of their forthcoming remarks by prefacing them with compliments

10. "The concept of accounts and quasi-theories are also addressed each in a particular way, to problematic meaning. Accounts are justifications and excuses people offer when the course of interaction has been disrupted by an act or word. Quasi-theories are explanations people construct in social interaction to account for various kinds of problematic situations. Both concepts point to observable features of social interaction in which meaning is restored by efforts undertaken for that purpose... Unlike accounts and quasi-theories, which are retrospective in their effect, disclaimers are prospective, defining the future in the present, creating interpretations of potentially problematic events intended to make them unproblematic when they occur".

(p 2)

11. See how these two techniques of declination are used alternatively to create a playful effect in a Jamaican folk song:

H. There's a hole in the bucket.
 E. Fix it.
 H. With what shall I fix it?
 E. Use a straw.
 H. The straw is too long.
 E. Cut it.
 H. With what shall I cut it?
 E. Use an axe
 H. The axe is too dull.
 E. Horn it.
 H. With what shall I horn it?
 E. Use a stone
 H. The stone is too dry.
 E. Wet it.
 H. With what shall I wet it?
 E. Use some water.
 H. In what shall I fetch the water?
 E. Use a bucket.
 H. There's a hole in the bucket!

12. The same uncertainty is also valid for speakers of English. For instance, in the extract found in Turner (1976) a recipient reads a plea for help in the troubles-telling. Yet when he evades co-operation, the teller takes refuge behind other possible readings of the act:

A: What's happening
 B: Man, I've got this term paper due Friday and I'm only half finished, and my girl is coming tonight...
 A: I'm sorry man, but I'm really overcommitted this week. If you can wait until after the weekend, I can probably help you out.
 B: Man, B didn't ask you to help me with my paper. I can write my own term paper.

(p.253)

CHAPTER 5: RE-QUALIFICATION OF TROUBLE

5.0 Introduction

One way of repairing the imbalance in troubles-talk is by bringing 'respectability' to the troublesome situation, as it is through it that the teller has lost face. This may be more clearly explained in the example of an utterance from Turner (1976) 'I should only have such problems' (p. 248) in a post-complaint position. An utterance of this kind is not normally taken as a statement of truth, and is not considered to express a genuine desire for the trouble. Instead, it is interpretable as 'If this is a trouble, then, I don't mind having it' and is truthful insomuch as 'Give them to me, let me take them away' is when uttered to compliment someone's withered flowers (see Ext. 2, p. 240, line 3). In other words, 'I should only have such problems' is a subtle show of disagreement on the nature of the reported incident.

The tendency in conversation is to look upon disagreement as presenting a challenge but when placed in certain loci and given in culturally recognizable patterns, disagreement can be an act of politeness (see Pomerantz - 1975, 1978, 1984a - on patterns of disagreement after self-deprecatory remarks).

Similarly, disagreement can be placed after troubles-telling to the effect of 'Take comfort from the fact that it is not that much of a problem if you look at it in a particular way', and to soothe and console. In that sense, then, it is similar to some conventional formulas (see 3.2.1.1) but while the formulas are 'quick recipes' to get out of the difficult situation, these are 'more imaginative and original preparations of a rich variety of ingredients'.

The present chapter will be devoted to the analysis of the disagreement patterns that have been detected in troubles-talk, but it is not our intention to formulate a rule like 'X types of troubles are responded to by A types of utterances, and Y types of troubles are responded to by B types of utterances'. On the other hand, if there are regularities between the types of troubles and responses emerging in the course of the analysis, these will be put in perspective.

The responses which re-qualify the trouble, range from outright disagreement to partial agreement of various kinds (i.e. troubles-minimization). They are charged with a positive function and do not bear the marks of hostile disagreement forms of speech. Nor do they lay a foundation for argumentative exchanges. As they put the interactional balance right, with their execution a potential point opens in the conversation where the troubles-talk may stop and another topic may start. A note of caution, though: the magic of the topic of trouble being superseded by another topic, either by a sudden change or by a gentle slide, does not merely lie in the use of these responses. It has been mentioned in Chapter 3 that topic terminating devices can have successful results so long as there is co-operation between the speakers. Similarly, one can attribute the continuation of topic in some cases cited here to the fact that there is no way of distracting a determined whiner from the course of the troubles-talk. On the other hand, the examples in which a change occurs will stand as evidence for the topic blocking capacity of these responses if exchanged between co-operating participants.

5.1 Disagreement

This is typical of the cases where the recipient is not in agreement as to the existence of a trouble. The turns can roughly be schematized as:

Speaker 1: Trouble (1)

Speaker 2: There is no Trouble (1)

Speaker 2 formulates 'There is no Trouble (1)' by disputing the implicit value attached to the facts or challenging the correctness of the teller's assessment of them. For example:

[Context: N's son had spent some years abroad to finish his Ph.D. instead of staying in his native country and taking up a job in which he would have been promoted to a financially satisfactory position. S is a neighbour's daughter)

N: He struggled and worked hard too, you see, he did a doctorate and whatever, but there's no money in his pocket.
(0.2)

—→ S: Money is not that important.
(0.3)

N: There are instances where it is important.

(Ext. 14, p. 272, lines 42-44)

The premise for N's trouble is that 'to live comfortably one needs money in life'. S opposes this on the grounds that 'money is not that important', so by implication, lack of money is not a trouble. The word 'that' (o kadar: that much) is interesting here. S may be using this as a buffer so as to sound not too impolite to her senior conversationalist. By avoiding a blunt objection, 'money is not important', she is accepting that it is important up to a certain degree, but not as much as it is suggested by N. She may, on the other hand, be setting up a comparative situation indirectly, meaning that the previous fact stated by N, that the son 'did a doctorate and whatever', is more prestigious than having money in his pocket. Her contradictory assessment does not alter N's conviction about the trouble, but we can note that after the recipient's disagreement she retreats to overt specification from the previously underlying generalization; from 'money is important in life' to 'money is important in certain instances in life'.

Another example where the teller's assessment of the situation is challenged is this:

- S: We really did our best for him, 'Look son', we said, 'this is your last year', I mean, 'you should make some effort'
- > N: Oh, but his number of points is not bad, I mean, it's quite good.
- S: I hope so. Well, we'll see, we say to ourselves 'Let's hope for the best', what else can we do?

(Ext. 26, p. 284, lines 8-10)

Prior to the above, S discloses the unsatisfactory examination marks that her son has got. The examination in question here is the one every student in Turkey takes at the end of high school education, to attain a place at university. The success of any candidate depends whether or not his/her examination marks can be considered within the required limits of any of the ten departments the candidate names in the order of his/her preference. In the first turn above, she gives the reasons for the failure. Although the parents told him to 'make some effort' he ignored the warning. However, this minor trouble of the son's indifference to parental encouragement is cast aside because the main cause of the annoyance is in the fact that if he does not secure a place at university, he will end up having an idle year. This worrying prospect is discharged by a re-valuation of the number of points which 'is not bad'. The re-assessment stands in opposition to S's previous assessment of the facts. One may wonder, 'Good for what?' as it is already known to both speakers that the son was not accepted by the university department of his first choice. One may additionally wonder what right N, a house-wife and a relative of S, can have in evaluating the marks against the pass limit set by the department itself. The stage that her re-assessment goes through, starting hesitantly, 'his number of points is not bad', and finishing relatively confidently, 'I mean, it's quite good', can be taken as the sign of her unauthorized status in making the re-valuation. Despite this background, the

disagreement is passively accepted here which may have several explanations. For one, it may have been taken by S as indicating an alternative: although the examination results are not good for the first choice, the application has to go through nine other departments and at least one of them may still accept the marks and offer him a place. But more convincingly, S estimates N's disagreement as boosting the reputation of the boy, and through it the mother's, and taking an argumentative line on this is not to S's advantage.

These are only two of the disagreement cases in which the opposition is voiced to the value previously attached to the incident 'bad/not bad' and 'important/not important'. If the value of the incident as named by the troubles-teller does not permit contradiction, the recipient can try a different name for it:

- E: He must have something against the pigeons.
 —→ O: No, it is over-affection, no,
 no, he isn't sick or anything.
 E: Well, I don't know.
 O: Our our boy, too, is extremely fond of animals. Every child
 every child in England is fond of animals.

(Ext. 19, p. 279, lines 11-14)

E's 13 year old son is obsessed by pigeons. He runs away from school to follow them on the roof-tops, he goes into other people's gardens to watch them closely, he steals money from his father's pocket to buy food for them, etc. E is frustrated by this obsession but does not know what to do about it. Summing up his worries to O, he spells out what he thinks is the problem with his son, 'some strange feeling for the pigeons'. This is a gentle way of saying that he is psychologically unbalanced. As this is E's own evaluation of the case, O finds himself in a position to be able to contradict him and to replace the diagnosis with undisputably bad connotations, 'mental disorder', with one of a socially acceptable quality, 'overaffection'.

O's opposition to the father's evaluation is quite forceful with the word 'no' appearing three times in the turn, the third one having a real emphasis, and does not indicate any hesitancy on the part of the speaker in showing opposition. This closely resembles Pomerantz' finding on responses to self-deprecating remarks - cf. Ch. 1.

Does the recipient believe in what he says as forcefully as he makes it sound he does? Of course, this defies measurement. But in the light of the extent of information the recipient has received regarding the socially unacceptable behaviour of the boy, his sincerity in his own words does not seem to be a possibility.

A more plausible analysis is this: the father's diagnosis of the son's strange behaviour is not out of place. However, if the recipient agrees with that, he will have 'a father with a strange son' as a conversational partner. Therefore, he overlooks the symptoms and re-defines the trouble as 'over-affection'. In addition, he points out the resemblance of the case first to that of his own son, then to that of 'every child in England' which is clearly too far-fetched. Yet, only through this step does the father cease to be an odd man out and becomes 'like the rest of us' again. This may be a good example which reflects the length to which the recipients are prepared to go in formulating resistance at the expense of their true feelings about the incident in question.

Although encountered in cases where the teller reports annoying or worrying situations, disagreement more commonly appears in instances where the trouble has derogatory connotations for the teller. For example, in spite of his academic qualifications, if a son does not earn enough, this does not present a very reputable image either for him or his mother, and disagreement shown by the recipient in this case will work towards restoring the respectability of both.¹ In comparison, say, the announcement of premature birth which is not self-derogatory, no matter how insignificant the

prematurity is (only 20 days, see example on pp. 190-1), does not prompt a reply such as '20 days prematurity is not that important'. Such disagreements for non-self-derogatory situations in fact create a social rift between the speakers as they sound like reproaches to the teller for making a mountain out of a mole hill. This, in turn leads the conversation into a stage where the teller becomes defensive about his rights in complaining:

[A's nine year old son is recuperating after circumcision]

- A: Well, on occasions when he doesn't get his medication, the pain starts again.
 —→ S: But it is only a tiny bit that has been cut off, isn't it, I mean, it's not a serious operation or something.
 —→ A: No, it hasn't been cut deep, but, I mean, think how bitterly it would hurt if you had even a scratch on your hand. This, after all, has been cut by scissors.

(Ext. 14, pp. 269-70, lines 22-24)

In contrast, disagreements with self-derogatory complaints are not questioned or disputed even when they lack justifiable backing:

- N: Oh, but his number of points is not bad, I mean, it's quite good.
 —→ S: I hope so.

(Ext. 26, p. 284, line 9)

and

- O: No, it is over-affection, no, no, he isn't sick or anything.
 —→ E: Well, I don't know.

(Ext. 19, p. 279, line 12)

Such placidity prepares the ground for the introduction of a new topic, if desired. For example, in Ext. 26 (p. 284, line 10), the teller shows willingness to close this section of the talk by using one of the formulaic expressions (cf. Ch. 3), Hayirlisi 'Let's hope for the best' and postponing the decision-taking on

the issue to a later stage, 'We'll see', after which the new topic of 'the importance of having good friends' is introduced.

5.2 Troubles-minimization

An alternative approach is taken by the recipient in showing resistance to trouble by bringing out the positive qualities of it. This verbal behaviour will be called 'troubles-minimization' which takes the form of the following patterns:

5.2.1 The optimistic projection

Optimistic projection is found in those responses where the recipient makes references to some prospective advantages that the present trouble might bring, or in fact, has already brought. The strategy seems to appeal to the trouble-teller to bear with the present situation as it is through it that better prospects can be attained. The structure of the sequential pair is:

Speaker 1: Trouble (1)

Speaker 2: Post trouble (1) prosperity

Examples:

[Context: The course B is attending at an overseas university is nearly over. A is a friend whom she met and has kept close contact within the university town)

B: I did so much homework, I mean, the rest (.) the other students we : : ll they stopped writing any homework back in January, nobody has written anything since then, and only I did whatever she asked for, and gave it to her right up to the last week.

—> A: But, Binnur, I mean, you know that this doesn't end with the exam. Tomorrow or some day you will apply for a job somewhere, and will name this woman as a referee, for instance, and of course, what she says then will be according .

B: I guess so.

(Ext. 18, p. 277, lines 13-15)

(Trouble (1): overworking on the present course

Post trouble (1) prosperity: good reference for future jobs)

[Context: O has been studying overseas. He is back home in Turkey for a short visit]

- O: And somehow we couldn't manage to come back, (staying) there and -
 —> T: Well, of course Now yours- em- you are investing now, when you come back some day, you will use these investments, won't you?
 O: We will, of course.

(Ext. 23, p. 281, lines 1-3)

'Could not manage' is what turns the utterance into a troubles-telling here. The implication is that, although O's heart has been on coming back home, he could not manage to do it. Apart from the implications of home-sickness, this may also be referring to the academic studies which have been taking longer and proving harder than had been anticipated. For either meaning, though, 'coming home eventually' has the same beneficial results.

Two more examples are the following:

[Context: R has just heard and is reporting to B that his sister has given birth to a baby girl His apparent disappointment at the news can be explained by the social structure where the male is the undisputably dominant sex]

- R: In our family, for some peculiar reason, the first child is always a girl.
 B: Well, is that bad? They can look after the ones that follow, and act as big sisters.

(Ext. 27, pp. 284-5, lines 1-2)

(Trouble (1): birth of a girl as the first child

Post trouble (1) prosperity: being a mother's helper for the rest to come)

[Context: S is visiting her neighbour N and is complaining about her husband's cigarette addiction. A is N's daughter-in-law]

- S: Even at meals in Ramadan, everyone's surprised (at him).
Imagine how, no sooner does he sit down at the table than he
lights up a cigarette, every time. As soon as he breaks his fast,
he has a cigarette, then he eats his meal.
- N: Well, of course, when there's addiction-
(0.3)
- > A: Presumably, if an addict keeps the fast, it's better received (by
God)

(Ext 11, p 256, lines 1-3)

(Trouble (1): husband is smoking during Ramadan

Post trouble (1) prosperity: husband will be better rewarded
in the Kingdom of God)

Of all these examples, only the reporter of baby girl's birth casts aside
the prosperity mentioned by the receiver:

- B Well, is that bad? They can look after the ones to follow, and
act as big sisters.
- R. No, I don't think they will have another child.
- B: Why not?
- R: Well, I don't know.
- B: Hm : : : :
(0.2)
- B: Have you seen S's grandfather as well?

(Ext. 27, p. 285, lines 2-7)

There is not enough evidence to show that R is being negative here just
to make the birth of a girl look desperate (i.e. there are no prospects of
having other children, and the only child that is born to the family is a girl) or
whether he has sound reasons to support his predictions. The possibility of
his negative response turning into a subsequent troubles-talk dies when he
abstains from giving any accounts (Well, I don't know). B's 'Hm : : : :'
is a show of respect for R's reluctance in carrying on with this subject which she
changes by initiating another topic.

The other examples demonstrate how positiveness is achieved by
securing the teller's approval of the beneficial results:

A: Tomorrow or some day you will apply for a job somewhere, and will name this woman as a referee, for instance, and of course, what she says then will be according.

—→ B: I guess so.

(Ext. 18, p. 277, lines 14-15)

and

T: you are investing now, when you come back some day, you will use these investments, won't you?

—→ O: We will, of course.

(Ext. 23, p. 281, lines 2-3)

The teller's consent to the positive aspects of the trouble is necessary to take leave from the troubles-talk. Below, we notice that it can be given even in a passing turn (.hhhh):

[Context: S is complaining about her husband]

S Even at meals in Ramadan, everyone's surprised (at him). Imagine how, no sooner does he sit down at the table than he lights up a cigarette, every time. As soon as he breaks his fast, he has a cigarette, then he eats his meal.

N: Well, of course, when there is addiction-
(0.3)

A: Presumably, if an addict keeps the fast, it's better received (by God).

—→ S .hhhh
(0.5)

A: Have you had your washing machine mended?

(Ext 11, p. 256, lines 1-5)

It is apparent that for A the trouble has been dealt with and the topic has been rounded up. Because S does not indicate otherwise, A feels free to raise an unrelated subject.

5.2.2 Comparison

Here, the recipient chooses another trouble to compare with the specific one mentioned by the troubles-teller. The structure of the pair is:

Speaker 1: Trouble (1)

Speaker 2: Trouble (2) > Trouble (1)

For example:

[Context: A's son who is also N's grandson has been circumcised. They are visiting H who is a friend of N's]

A: He's lying down now, we said 'lie down and rest a bit', hmmm.
(0.5)

N: It's hard (0.1) for children to go through this stage.
(0.4)

—> H: It's harder for women, men have only one circumcision
N: Oh, yes, of course.

(0.2)

—> H: Women give birth every time, then it's forgotten, then they give birth again.

(Ext. 14, pp. 270-1, lines 28-32)

[Context: H is telling A about the wrongdoings in the institution - the Academy of Social Sciences - where he works]

H: Anyway, it starts from the beginning, I mean, when they take an assistant (into the Academy) they force him into a master-apprentice relationship.

A: Yes, the methods of the guild system are to a large extent

H: Like the guild system.

—> A: Still, the academies are new establishments. The situation in the universities and so on is worse.

(Ext. 28, p. 286, lines 1-4)

Analysing these two conversations, we get:

Speaker 1 - trouble (1): the grandson's poor health after circumcision

Speaker 2 - trouble (2): any woman's plight in giving successive births

Comparative link: harder

Speaker 1 - trouble (1): wrongdoings at the place where he works

Speaker 2 - trouble (2): wrongdoings in other institutions

Comparative link: worse

Here the recipient achieves positiveness by showing that what we sometimes call a trouble is in fact insignificant and endurable in comparison to more serious cases, subsequent to which a slide into other topics, especially that of Trouble (2), becomes possible. For example:

- A: Still, the academies are new establishments. The situation in the universities and so on is worse. They are completely different
- H: Yes.
- A: I have a friend, she is doing research in Criminal Law. Well:, if I'm not mistaken it's been eleven twelve years and she's still waiting for her professor's consent on it.
- H: To get her PhD degree?
- A: To get her PhD degree. She is the assistant to S.P. A very (.) uncooperative, unsociable man he is.
- H: You mean her supervising professor is also her examiner?
- A: Now, it's like this: ...

(Ext. 28, pp. 286-7, lines 4-10)

This extract starts with speakers talking about a certain situation, and ends with them conversing on another. There is no clear-cut point at which the switch from H's inferior status at the Academy to the plight of A's friend at the university is conducted. Obviously, the utterance starting with 'I have a friend, she's doing...' may appear to be a turning point but even this utterance is closely tied as a piece of evidence to what proceeds it, i.e. to A's remark on 'universities and so on'. Indeed, this research student's struggle for 12 years to get her PhD presents the case as being worse than what is happening at the academies. H's amazement at the case helps the focus to move even further away from the academies, bringing the talk to a point where an extensive explanation of the research completion procedures of the universities becomes imminent.

Presumably, instead of agreeing with A's suggestion that the situation in the universities is worse ('Yes' in turn 2 above), and then later on requesting confirmation to satisfy a disbelief, the teller could have insisted on talking more about his own case, keeping the talk around Trouble (1),

perhaps by providing even harsher examples to contrast with the situation in the universities - incidentally he does not come back to this point during the rest of the recorded session. What they were talking about in the opening turns in this extract, therefore, is topically relevant to but is not of the same topic as the last turns. It can be said that the minimization remark of the recipient and the approval of it by the teller, jointly manage a slide from one topic into another in this conversation.

An example which falls within this pattern provides yet another illustration of how the conversation can be floated out of the boundaries of troubles-talk:

- S: It may well be so but, she's bored. She can't go out, no one is in the state of mind (.) to talk to her either. Because she's bored, she gets ILL, you know, she gets ill.
- M: Of course.
- > M: Remember how Kerem says 'I'm bored'. hhn
- S: Hahh hahh ha :
- > M: He says 'Melahat Aunt, I'm bored'. He goes in here, he goes in there, the poor child can't find anything to do. Nnn I was going to do my daily prayers, I locked the door. Aa : - 'Open it, open it, I want to see too' ha ha. He went to Arzu and complained about me. (Then) Arzu came... (story)

(Ext. 15, pp. 273-4, lines 8-13)

This conversation, which starts with S complaining about her mother's poor health and boredom, develops into a story on how M's nephew, Kerem, tried to get into a locked room. With the change of topic, the gloom surrounding the opening phase immediately turns into merriment. We have already seen in an earlier examination of this context (Ch. 3) the perseverance of S in pushing the negative aspect of her mother's health into the conversation, while M had been trying to avoid it by making remarks on how well the old lady looked. One may wonder what the secret is in breaking S's obstinacy when she is so determined to stay a whiner. M achieves this by bringing into the talk the latest figure of fun in the family, her 9 year old

nephew, Kerem. The background information which is not capturable from the text is this: Kerem was born and brought up in England and is on one of his rare visits to Turkey, but this time to be circumcised. Being unfamiliar with the environment, he is not allowed to go out alone and during the recuperation period is getting restless and disruptive in the house. The relatives who are enjoying his brief presence do not mind this and look upon his mischievous behaviour positively. They find his ignorance of Turkish culture and his broken Turkish funny. The sudden change of heart after the talk is diverted to an event regarding Kerem, therefore, is not surprising. Moreover, M guarantees this merriment by imitating Kerem's accent in 'Open it, open it, I want to see too'. However, her manipulation should not be considered as choosing to talk about Y instead of carrying on with X, where X and Y are only distantly related, the choice being the result of a tactful decision that X is a dangerous topic to carry on with. In this extract the broad linkage between the topics may seem to be 'boredom', yet the connection is based on a finer scale than that. M draws S's attention to Kerem's case with some force, 'Remember'. She repeats what Kerem says, i.e. 'I'm bored'. She also uses a diminutive (poor child) to underline the pitiful situation that Kerem is in. Another repetition on his restlessness in the house is 'He goes in here, he goes in there', and then the result, 'He cannot find anything to do'. With all these, it is apparent that S's mother is not the only one known to them who is suffering from boredom. The 'poor' circumcised 'child' is also going through the same, if not a worse ordeal. Having this link to start with, M can then progress further and further away from the ailing mother, as indeed neither of the speakers look back to the mother's misery for the rest of the conversation. Once again, the minimization remark 'Remember how Kerem says I'm bored' can be said to have achieved a slide from one topic into another.

5.2.3 Speculation

The recipient speculates on what might have happened if the present situation had not occurred. So the structure is:

Speaker 1: Trouble (1)

Speaker 2: If not Trouble (1), then Trouble (2)

Trouble (2) again is selected in such a way that the recipient urges the teller to be thankful for the occurrence of Trouble (1). The semantic difference between this type of minimization technique and Comparison is that here Trouble (2) is the outcome of a hypothetical non-occurrence of Trouble (1), whereas in Comparison, Trouble (2) stands in competition with Trouble (1). For example:

[Context: S has just heard that his application for a job abroad has been unsuccessful. K is a friend]

- S. 'Unfortunately, I am very sorry to tell you this' he said
 —→ K But there is also this, S, you were going to leave your family and go away, even if it was only for a month or two it would have been a big problem it would have been difficult
 S That,, now, no, that experience in Ireland was a bad experience. It's very difficult.
 K. Well, of course

(Ext. 13, p 265, lines 33-36)

Trouble (1): unsuccessful job application

If not Trouble (1), Trouble (2): separation from the family

S's reference to 'that experience in Ireland' should be read as his agreement with K that getting this job would have had detrimental effects on his family life as this is what he has experienced while working in Ireland. K's last turn therefore functions in the same way as a 'There you are, you see' kind of response. Nevertheless following this S immediately steps back to

elaborating on the latest job application, and to reporting the details of the interview.

Speculation does not necessarily have to be as explicit as in the case above. For instance, in the next example, although A had wanted to make a trip to Holland, she had not been able to find any means of transport available. In response to this, U does not specify what might have happened had she gone there, he only states the fact that the weather has been unfavourable in Europe recently. The implication is that, even if A had found a way to go to Holland, she would have had lousy weather to spoil her trip:

A: I had been wanting to go to Holland for a long time. But there was nothing, for the whole Easter holiday every place was em completely full.

[a couple of turns between A and U intervene, see appendix]

—> U But apparently it's been quite cold in Europe recently.

(Ext. 18, pp. 275-6, lines 1-5)

And finally an indirectly conveyed message which promises more troubles in the case of non-occurrence of Trouble (1):

[Unrecorded data]

Y: I have reached this mature age as a single girl.

O: Mercy, what good have we done ourselves by getting married?

Out of a small number of examples demonstrating this pattern, topic is found to be in change only in Ext. 18, but that was due to the interruption of a child whose mother then had to apologize for his imperfect Turkish:

U: But apparently it's been quite cold in Europe recently.

A Hm:::

—> K: [to the guest] Look what I did myself.

A: Please don't be offended. As he has started learning Turkish recently, he can only manage 'tu' but not 'vous' yet.

U Hahh bah::

(Ext 18, p. 276, lines 5-8)

It can be argued that here the child's utterance, especially with its little awareness of conversational etiquette, provides a strong reason for the previous topic to be abandoned. But it can also be argued that, as A produces a passing turn and abstains from saying more on the trouble after U's consolatory remark, the ground is open to anybody to start afresh anyway. Despite this interpretation, the fact still remains that topic change is not a frequent occurrence with speculation. This can be attributed to its hypothetical quality which fails to provide a strong and convincing reason to stop the troubles-talk altogether.

5.2.4 Improvement

The recipient reminds the troubles-teller that the present situation is better now than it used to be, so rather than complaining, he should be appreciative of the improvement. The sequence goes as:

Speaker 1: Trouble (1)

Speaker 2: Before Trouble (1), it was Trouble (2)

Examples:

[noise of low flying jet planes]

N: These aeroplane noises are so disturbing.

—→ S: But still it's better. You remember, in the old days they used to fly even at night, boom BOOM, (. . .) I think they were breaking the sound barrier, they used to keep us all awake.

(Ext. 7, p. 247, lines 1-2)

[Trouble (1) (present): aeroplanes during the day

Trouble (2) (past): aeroplanes during the night]

[Context: R has just come back from his parents' house in Cyprus. He is complaining to A about the political disorder he saw there]

R: It seemed as if there wasn't a political order at all. We were just talking about the oppression in Russia, remember, because we are living in similar conditions (in Cyprus) one finally gets to a point of indifference, hihh, hihh, hihh.

—> A But still you're better off now, just remember (what happened) when the Greeks were in power.

(Ext. 27, p. 285, lines 8-9)

[Trouble (1) (present): the Turks in power]

Trouble (2) (past): the Greeks in power]

In neither of these examples is the subject of trouble dropped. In Ext. 7, a third speaker steps in to report what her daughter who lives elsewhere, thinks about the aeroplane noises; in Ext. 27, R continues with the problems he has encountered in Cyprus. Whether this is coincidental or is a general occurrence for this type of response is hard to say.

5.2.5 Pollyanna behaviour

'Pollyanna behaviour' is displayed when the recipient, although not disagreeing with the negativeness attached to the incident, disagrees that the incident has nothing but negative qualities. This he does by starting the turn with a 'but' opposition marker, and carrying on with a reference to the positive mentionables of the incident. Basing it on the analogy of describing a glass; while the troubles-teller defines it as 'half-empty', the recipient corrects him by saying that it is 'half-full'. For our definition of this positive outlook, we owe an acknowledgement to G. Leech (1983) who uses the term Pollyanna Principle to state that 'people prefer to look on the bright side rather than gloomy side of life, thus resembling the optimistic heroine of Eleanor H. Porter's novel Pollyanna(1913)' (p. 147).²

The structure of the turns is:

Speaker 1: Negative aspect of Trouble (1)

Speaker 2: Positive aspect of Trouble (1)

Looking at the following extracts, we can see the mentioned incidents with their balanced qualities, (N) negative ones stated by the troubles-teller, and (P) positive ones by the recipient.

The background to the first example is this: Feride who has recently given birth to a baby boy, is M's daughter and H's daughter-in-law. In H's presence, M is telling A, the visitor, how Feride's labour started unexpectedly one night when there was not a single male in the house to take care of the group. Bulent, whose name is mentioned in the talk as an exception, is Feride's brother, but as the following laugh explains, he is too young to be considered 'a man in the house' or to be expected to take on such a responsibility. It was also impossible to inform H, nor was it possible to contact Erdinc, the father of the baby. Then follows H's explanation which can be read as an excuse for her absence from the scene, 'the baby boy arrived 20 days earlier than expected'. The fact remains that M, Feride, and whatever female company they had that night sat there 'wondering what to do' about the emergency. But no matter how much difficulty the birth caused the women, the good thing about it was that 'it was a very easy birth' and this is the recipient's contribution to the talk, showing the troubles-teller the sunny side of the picture. Additionally, with the use of 'apparently', the recipient manages to extract from the other an emphatic confirmation of the positive aspects of the birth:

(N) —> M: Feride's labour pains started All alone. At night We were sitting here, 'What should we do? What should we do? (we were saying to ourselves). We didn't have a single man here apart from Bulent, hehh, hehh, he., Hayriye Hanim and her family didn't know about it, Erdinc didn't know about it.

- H: There were still twenty days
more to go, we were counting the days and saying
'there are 20 more days'. The boy arrived twenty days
earlier than expected, just like his father had done.
(0.3)
- (P) —> A: But apparently it was a very easy birth.
M: Oh : it was, thank goodness

(Ext 29, pp. 287-8, lines 1-4)

In the same setting later on, H takes another turn at complaining. This time her trouble is based on 'being away from her children'. The response is again designed to bring out the positive side of this state of affairs, H may be feeling lonely without her children but at least being away from them gives her the occasional opportunity of doing something different:

- (N) —> H: The years go so fast my child that you just can't
understand it
(.)
- A: Ya .
- (N) —> H: Happy days pass very quickly (.) When you're away
you see you miss your children
(.)
- (P) —> A: But that's good as well, not being in the same place
that is=
- H: =Of course of course
- (P) —> A: It's a change for the parents
H A change, we come and
go We go to our son and we go to our daughter
A: Of course
H Next year my son will have his son circumcised. The
one in Izmir

(Ext 29, pp. 288-9, lines 5-13)

With the recipient's shift of attention to the pleasant aspects there is a remarkable recovery in the mood of the teller who initially prefaced her talk with a pessimistic outlook 'Happy days pass very quickly', implying that she is unhappy now that she is away from her children. This change is noticeable in her move into the theme of these visits being a break from the monotonous flow of their lives (hers and her husband's). Indeed, shortly after this, she picks up her prospective visit to her son's house as her next topic. However,

for the time being the topic of 'living apart' is maintained while the focus is diverted from its disadvantages to its advantages.

The same approach is also present in the example below. N is complaining about the few days she has spent with her son, Namik, and his family. Her discomfort there seems to have been caused mainly by the fact that Namik had had new shutters installed on the windows. The rain kept on tapping on the shutters and kept N awake all night. It was similarly annoying during the day, because if they had the shutters closed, the house became dark and gloomy, if they had them open, the August sun disturbed her. On the other hand, the shutters would keep the windows and frames clean from dust, dirt and rain, and this objectivity is brought into focus by the recipient, F, who is a friend of N. She has not been to Namik's house, nor does she know Namik in person. Her defence, therefore, is for her friend, N, whose 'son has wretched shutters':

- (N) → N Mercy, they have these shutters on the windows of
 Namik's house. Then it rained, splash, splash, splash,
 ay: :: I was awake all night (.) They are very thingy
 F. Yes
(N) → N. Then, during the day the sun shines in and they close
 the shutters, this gives me additional distress. On the
 other hand, if they leave them open, it's not (good)
 either.
 (0.4)
(P) → F. Nevertheless, they would protect the frames very well,
 and the windows-

(Ext 10, p. 255, lines 1-4)

After this the talk becomes slightly uncoordinated. A third person jumps in but before she has the chance of expressing what she wants to say in a more meaningful way, the troubles-teller re-seizes the floor to recommend to the recipient the shutters which she was complaining about only a couple of seconds ago. Yet another paradox occurs when the recipient

unexpectedly announces that she does not, in fact, think very highly of the shutters in question:

- F: Nevertheless, they would protect the frames very well, and the windows-
 S: Ha, this thing, you mean em- the sun, you know what they said
 N: Now look, they will be perfectly alright here
 F: We have [unintelligible] on our sitting room windows, I like them more, they are very easy to pull up and down.

(Ext. 10, pp. 255-6, lines 4-7)

This reversal of the situation makes sense only when analyzed as such: the troubles-teller suddenly realizes that perhaps she was complaining about something which the recipient has a fancy for. At the time of the speech the conversationalists are sitting in F's house and in a room filled with sunshine. The only informative component in S's unfinished utterance, 'the sun', indicates that the disadvantage of the shutters in rainy weather was likely to be played down by this speaker, given a chance, in favour of the advantage of them on a sunny day. What is more, S was about to quote from other sources to support her view of the shutters. So, before S can find a chance to give credit to the shutters which may turn out to be what the hostess needs for the room they are presently occupying, the teller makes a hasty return with 'Now look', and an adjustment to her complaints on condition that the shutters are in this location (but still not in her son's house). All this proves to be unnecessary for F who prefers whatever she has been using in her sitting room anyway. To start with, she does not, for instance, think that the shutters are simple to operate, a fact which she can disclose now as they are not talking about N's trouble any longer. For another few minutes the talk hovers around the features of a variety of sun-blinds before finally a fresh topic is brought in. This is yet another example to demonstrate that these responses

are produced not to publicize the recipient's true feelings but for face rescue purposes.

5.2.6 Time reference

Troubles-minimization may be achieved by referring to the short duration of the conditions that create the trouble. Here the recipient accepts that there is a trouble at hand, but claims that at least it is not a permanent one. The commonly used word here is 'gecer' it will pass which has a touch of fatalism in it and a wide area of application.³ The broad framework is 'any trouble that has started can also come to an end, God willing'.

Examples:

[Context: the talk is about A's grandson]

- S. Has he started walking?
 A. He hasn't yet.
 S. How old is he now?
 A. Hm (.) It's a month over his first year. Thirteen months
 S. Ha : :
 A. He hasn't walked yet
 —> S. He will walk. The days will pass and he will walk.

(Ext. 30, pp. 290-1, lines 1-7)

- A. Kerem's ill, Kerem's ill today
 S. Shame! What, is it something like 'flu?
 A. Yeah, something
 like it, I think it is 'flu. Sinan (.) was bad yesterday, he got up,
 Kerem's gone down.
 —> S. May he recover soon. It'll pass.

(Ext. 5, p. 242, lines 2-5)

As mentioned above, 'gecer' it will pass has a lot to do with possibilities and good intentions, but is vague in the sense that it does not tell the troubled person much about how the trouble could pass. Credibility may be

sought, as in the following example, by a specific reference to what exactly might happen to make the trouble ineffective.

This is the later stage of the conversation which we have seen earlier: S is troubled by her son's examination marks:

- N: He might get into the academy or whatever
 S: Not there=
 N: =Won't he?
 S: Apparently they only take people with more than 400 points
 —> N: Ah, the level might go down, it will go down and he'll get in

(Ext 26, p 283, lines 1-5)

This approach is reminiscent of the Turkish saying 'Olmaz olmaz' (literally: cannot be cannot be) translatable as impossible is impossible or in better English anything is possible, and the pass mark being dropped below the departmental requirement is one such possibility.

After the time factor gets designated as the healer of the trouble, the conversation again may become free of trouble-talk constraints and the speakers can divert their attention to other mentionables. For example in Ext. 30 S treats the trouble as a minor problem which does not deserve serious attention and which will disappear in time. Consequently, A moves into more positive reportings about her grandson, still keeping him as the centre of the talk:

- S: He will walk. The days will pass and he will walk
 —> A: Yes () um : : he went to thingumbob, he went to Karamursel to visit his grandmother.
 S: Ha : : ? Good

(Ext 30 pp 290-1, lines 7-9)

5.2.7 Reference to reasons

There is quite a number of examples in which, after the troubles-telling, the recipient mentions the reasons which must have created the

present worry. By doing that, the recipient shows how he is prepared to see the acclaimed trouble: not as something extraordinary but as the natural outcome of sensible reasons.⁴ As, by implication, the trouble is not the teller's fault but is due to the conditions which naturally evoke the complainable situation, the recipient exonerates the teller and restitutes his normality:

- M: In that way, I doze off, and wake up again, doze off, really-
 —→ H: Of course, it's because of the heat.

(Ext. 29, p. 289, lines 16-17)

- N: Mercy! These flies flock in.
 —→ S: They do, when the windows are open, they do.

(Ext. 7, p. 248, lines 11-12)

There is an interesting case below because the response that has been started by one speaker gets completed by another. The context is the well-known one: S is worried over her son's examination results. In this instance, she is explaining to her listeners the background of his failure, 'This year he did not take things seriously enough'. The first recipient, N, starts her turn with 'of course', and gets interrupted half way through by the other recipient who completes the turn:

- S: I mean up to now he's been very good at school. But now this last year, for some reason or other, up to now he's never had to retake exams or anything This year he didn't take things seriously enough
 (0.2)
 —→ N: Of course, the age too-
 —→ L: The age too has an effect.

(Ext 26, pp 283-4, lines 6-8)

This joint action is a good example to show that these patterns are embedded in the culture and that the speakers, given a single clue, would know in advance what course the response is likely to take.

The next example might disclose a little more about this approach. N is tidying up the room for some expected guests. While doing so, she is complaining about the non-stop need for such attention in the house. Her sister S who is staying with her temporarily, looks upon the problem as the natural outcome of N's rather over-crowded household. There is one more constraint, however, on this recipient apart from dealing with the damaged face of the teller: as S is in N's house she is not supposed to agree that the situation is disturbing because such an agreement can sound like a complaint about N's hospitality. (The same is true for Ext. 7, where the house that the flies flock into is the troubles-teller's house):

- N: Cleaning never ends, we cleaned the house, why doesn't it stay clean? It doesn't stay clean. It is getting untidy, it is getting untidy=
 —> S: =Of course, it is crowded, you (would) tidy it from one end, (it would get untidy) from the other
 N: Whatever I have done is getting untidy=
 —> S: =Yes, it would

(Ext. 31, p. 291, lines 1-4)

As compared to the present continuous tense used by N who obviously refers to the present state of affairs, 'Durmuyor' it is not staying, and 'karisiyor' it is getting untidy, S uses the simple present tense 'temizlenir' it is tidied (for easy reading, it is translated above as you (would) tidy it from one end which generalizes the situation, meaning 'when there is an overcrowded house, it always gets untidy like this'. The same happens in the last two turns, N's present complaint 'Whatever I have done is getting untidy' is responded to with a wider outlook, 'yes, it would (literally: yes, it does, 'bozulur').

This generalization is not always given a full treatment, occasionally the recipient, after stating the reasons, leaves the turn grammatically unfinished. The blank presented by this incompleteness is clearly the space where the trouble can be generalized. For example:

H: We set the alarm clock, we got up at three o' clock. I could not go back to sleep after that of course.
(0.2)

—> N: When the body is not accustomed to it-

(Ext. 14, p. 267, lines 3-4)

M: I really feel half asleep, I mean I feel as if I'm asleep all the time.

—> H: You haven't been able to liven up today, of course, it's the effect of fasting, the first day, that's why. When you're tired-

M: I also had a bath.

H: Drowsiness has increased.

(0.2)

[The baby cries]

H: Look at him. A: : : what's wrong with you?

M: A: : :

(Ext. 29, pp. 289-90, lines 18-23)

M's second turn in Ext (29) is rather interesting, she not only accepts H's reason as the cause of her trouble, she provides even further explanations for the occurrence of her trouble: additionally she has had a bath. H works on this as an accelerator of the trouble, 'drowsiness has increased'. The sudden change of topic after this may be attributable to the local distraction. However, the intervening pause (0.2) could have given the speakers the chance at least to make a start had they had more to say on the matter. Both the pause and the readiness to respond to a contextual stimulation (note that the baby cannot answer back so the question does not have an interactional priority) can be related more convincingly to the fact that the trouble, as the outcome of such common events, has lost its topical attraction.

Finding a good reason to support the occurrence of the problem sometimes proves to be difficult. For example:

S: Even at meals in Ramadan, everyone's surprised (at him) Imagine how, no sooner does he sit down at the table than he lights up a cigarette, every time. As soon as he breaks his fast he has a cigarette, then he eats his meal

- N: Well of course, when there is addiction-
(0.3)
A: Presumably, if an addict keeps the fast, it's better received (by God).

(Ext. 11, p. 256, lines 1-3)

Here N experiences this difficulty and while trying to bring normality to the troubled person, singles him out more from the rest because of his addiction. N's daughter-in-law, A, therefore, has to make a subsequent attempt to clean up this mistake which she manages by turning the peculiarity of the husband into a blessing.

An incident which caught our attention, but unfortunately was not recorded, had an interesting response in it: Speaker 1 was telling Speaker 2 that, although he had ordered some important books which he needed urgently a few weeks prior to the time of the conversation, they had not yet arrived. Speaker 2's response to that was 'Printed matter takes longer to reach its destination, they must be still in the post'. This response is noteworthy because it displays two procedures of troubles-minimization packed into one response, reference both to time and reasons. Picking up a temporary occurrence as the reason for the incident achieves this amalgamation. 'They must be still in the post, (a) rules out the possibility of them being lost on the way, (b) supplies the troubles-teller with an acceptable reason that might be behind the trouble, an (c) excludes the probability of an on-going trouble.

Another, but less compact example is the next one: K is complaining about her son who takes no notice of her any longer. A's explanation of the situation is the sensitive period the boy is in. As it is a transitory stage, the trouble is not long-lasting either:

- K: Ahmet doesn't help at all, Ahmet has changed a lot this year.
A: Well it's the age of puberty
K: He went up onto the roof I've just gone out to call him in, he didn't come
—→ A: It's just the age when they're mad, when they get to this time of puberty, they go mad. It'll pass

- K: I swear, it's always like this. As for his friends (.) they all are mad, Ayse Hanim, believe me. I tell him, 'Son, don't talk to that boy', but he still goes out with them.
- A: Well, of course (.) Ad-Adviye has grown a lot.
- K: Still, this young one, this year the young one is doing well at school.

(Ext. 6, pp. 246-7, lines 20-26)

K's sudden switch onto Ahmet's friends cannot be incidental, despite the fact that A has offered reasons (twice) for K not to get worried. When A uses the pronoun 'they', generalizing the situation to all youngsters at the age of puberty, K misreads it as 'Ahmet's friends' and continues with the talk in this direction. Because the previous references have failed to put a stop to the complaint, A, then tries to raise a relevant new topic, relevant in the sense that 'Adviye' being the sister of Ahmet and daughter of K, can compensate for K's worries about her son, meaning 'your son may not be up to your expectations, but at least your daughter has the positive signs' (see Pollyanna behaviour). Indeed, with this attempt K's attention is diverted onto 'Adviye' and the joy that she has been causing her parents.

It might have been noticed that most of these references start with 'of course :

- N: Well, of course, when there's addiction -
- H: . . . of course, it's the effect of fasting, the first day, that's why.
- S: =of course, it is crowded, you (would) tidy it from one end, (it would get untidy) from the other.
- H: of course, it's because of the heat.

Of course is an item which should be familiar to the reader from the analysis of 'Confirmation' (p. 123). As discussed therein, after generalizations in troubles-telling it appears singly or in duplication, tabii tabii sure, sure or 'of course, of course'. Like other items of similar nature, such as 'you're right', 'true', etc., it confirms the speaker's right to complain and encourages the

topic. Tagged to reference to reasons, on the other hand, it stresses the unoriginality of the trouble, and obstructs the development of topic. Despite these observations, there is one hybrid response in an extract which has been quoted earlier for another reason:

- A: Well, on occasions when he doesn't get his medication, the pain starts again
 S: But, it is only a tiny bit that has been cut off, isn't it, I mean, it's not a serious operation or something.
 A: No, it hasn't been cut deep, but, I mean, think how bitterly it would hurt if you had even a scratch on your hand. This, after all, has been cut by scissors.
 (0.1)
 —> H: Of course, of course, it gets stretched. He's right, of course.
 A: I think, there has been an abscess formed around it too.

(Ext. 14, pp. 269-70, lines 22-26)

The response in question is marked with an arrow. For an effective analysis, the context needs to be reviewed again: A is worried about her circumcised son. S, a young participant, questions the severity of the operation, thus, implying that the circumcised child is making more fuss than is necessary. This is a good example of a sympathy-lacking response. In return, the troubles-teller creates two camps, 'one for you, one for me', as it were, and contrasts the two, 'you in your camp with a scratch on your hand', 'me, in my camp with a circumcised child'. After this, H, the young participant's mother, tries to put the things right by aligning herself with the circumcised child and his mother rather than with her own daughter, by giving A the confirmation 'of course, of course', and the child his due, 'He's right. Of course'. But the function of 'it gets stretched' is not all that clear. At first glance, and as a reference to reasons, it seems to be an unusual component in this composition. However, when the circumstances are taken into account, it falls into place: it is addressed not to the troubles-teller, but to the daughter who has insinuated that the teller has no basis for claiming a trouble. 'It gets stretched' explains why the aftermaths of the operation is

painful and why the case should be treated with due respect. Therefore, it is not a 'reference to reasons' in the way that we use the term here, but is a justification offered in support of the teller.

5.2.8 Reference to a similar trouble

At the completion of troubles-telling the recipient starts reporting or reminding the teller of a similar occurrence experienced either by the recipient himself or by a third person, or by everybody. The main intention behind it is illustrated clearly in the following example:

- K: What can be done? I get a cold from time to time.
 A: Well Kezban, lots of things get a hold on us with the age, as well. We have it too. I've started to get rheumatism as well, you know, our climate there is, well, wet, I've got it as well, so
 K: I believe
 you.
 A: Don't worry about it, these things do happen.

(Ext. 6, pp. 245-6, lines 15-17)

We can note here another amalgamation of troubles minimization techniques, not only does A make a reference to her own case, she also makes a reference to the reasons behind the trouble, i.e. the mature age at which such ailments are expected. At the end of her turn, A comes to the point: 'Don't worry about it, these things do happen'.

The recipient at times combines drawing resemblances from personal and general cases consecutively:

- E: He must have something against the pigeons.
 O: No, that is over-affection,
 no, no, he isn't sick or anything.
 E: Well I don't know.
 —→ O: Our our boy, too, is extremely fond of animals. Every child
every child in England is fond of animals.

(Ext. 19, p. 279, lines 11-14)

Perhaps a good example which deserves a brief attention is the next one. In this instance, N is complaining about her son's irresponsibility. The complaint will eventually be received by O with a 'so what' attitude. It is interesting though, to note the preparation of this attitude right from the start. A, who takes two turns before O, seems to be in good accord with him in resisting the trouble. N starts her talk with a positive remark 'He is clever'. The following 'but' however signals that something negative is imminent. The short pause in which N is trying to find the right word immediately after that, therefore, is not a possible turn transition point. A realizes that something dangerous is on the way and uses the pause as a chance to step in and to back up the boy, 'Wonderful'. In the meantime, N is still searching for the right word: 'How can I define it?'. At this point A decides to come to N's help and proposes a qualifier for the boy, 'Active?'. This is a good choice because for the age of the boy, who is thirteen, 'activity' would be a natural and expected quality, but as it is not the most appreciated quality from the parents' point of view, it stands in good balance with 'He's clever but'. This is too soft for N's taste, so she ignores the help, and eventually finds what she was looking for, irresponsible. The same qualifier in the question form shows A's disbelief in what she has just heard, and perhaps her reluctance to accept it. A's husband O then takes the ground and closes the sequence with a 'so what' attitude:

| | |
|---|--|
| N | He's very clever but () How can I define it |
| A | Wonderful |
| A | Active? |
| N | Irresponsible |
| A | Irresponsible? |
| O | So what we all were like that |

(Ext 19 p 27, lines 1-6)

By generalizing the situation like this O claims that what the boy is experiencing is not something unusual it is a stage that one normally goes through in life and therefore the parent should consider neither herself nor

her son as marked by this, or worse than others.⁵ This is again a combination of different approaches. O claims a share in the trouble, in fact, generalizes it to all his peers, 'we all', yet he casts the trouble into past, 'were', indicating the temporary character of it. A note of clarification to finish off with: Ne olacak, literally 'What will happen', translated as 'so what?', although it sounds challenging in English, is not rude or hostile here. On the contrary, with the help of 'we', it projects a future for the present and points to the possible transformation awaiting the boy.

5.3 Conclusion

What we have seen here is a set of responses which reject the existence or undermine the severity of the trouble. Although in any given instance such an attitude can be both challenging and supportive in equal weighting, the culture provides its members with safe patterns to be used at certain sequential points so that any hostile readings will be obliterated.

In Turkish troubles-talk the patterns range from outright disagreement to disagreements of a more subtle nature. They do not have a direct correlation to and are not produced only on the occasion of a specific type of trouble. The decision as to which one to pick is entirely at the recipient's discretion. As it happens, the recipient/s can use different types of responses consecutively for the same trouble and during the same trouble-talk. It is also possible to combine some of these responses in the same utterance while dealing with the trouble. Although it has been found that self-derogatory trouble announcements recurrently attract disagreement responses, even in this area there are no absolute rules because some self-derogatory troubles can neither be re-named nor can they be re-valued. One example is Evde kalmak (literally 'staying at home', figuratively 'to be a spinster') which has a stronger holding in the Turkish culture (compared to

perhaps the European contexts), where any unmarried female over the age of 25 will be classified as such and will be considered void of attraction for the opposite sex. This and similar self-deprecatative troubles are more open to minimization responses (see, for instance, example on p.187). Non-derogatory troubles on the other hand, are suitable for minimization as outright disagreement after statements of fact has adverse effects (see the example on p. 177).

A uniformity that goes across the board so far as all the patterns are concerned is that there is no dispute arising as a result of them. Whether it is disagreement or minimization, the reaction to it is in the range of an out-breath ('h h h h', p. 181), a passing turn ('Hm: :', p. 187), or more committed turns like 'I hope so' (p. 174), 'Well, I don't know' (p. 175), 'I guess so' (p. 178), 'I believe you' (p. 202), 'Of course, of course' (p. 191), 'Oh: : it was, thank goodness' (p. 191), and even a laughter (p. 184) which indicate that the crises of the troubles-talk is over and the topic is ready to be changed. Only one minimization technique, 'speculation', is not found to secure a change in topic, possibly because this is a relatively weak type of argument to raise in troubles-talk.

We do not claim that our list of re-qualifying techniques presented here is totally exhaustive. There may be eventualities which have not fallen into the range of our data, but any additions to the collection will only confirm the necessity, as we have tried to show, of saving the teller's face, before a new topic can be introduced into the talk.

NOTES

1. The reader may be puzzled by the high frequency of troubles-telling examples in which the trouble is to do with the son. However, remembering the status of the son in the family structure (see Introduction) this should not be surprising.

2. The main difference between this and 'optimistic projection' is that in the latter the optimism is about hypothetical occurrences and is to do with the future. In Pollyanna Behaviour, it is about the present and about balancing the negative aspects of the complainable against the positive ones.

3. It may be useful to add a brief explanation for the recurrent choice of verb tense in 'gecer' it will pass. The (I)r tense suffix after the verb stem (gec-mek) to pass does not exactly give the definite future. The (I)r suffix in Turkish is, in fact, a rough equivalent of the simple present tense in English. As well as referring to habitual and generally occurring actions, this tense is also used for a probable occurrence in future, or for an intended action to take place in the future. Perhaps this potentiality explains better why promises are made in this tense, e.g. 'Gelirim' (gel: verb-stem for come, -ir: tense suffix, -im: personal pronoun suffix for the first person singular): I will come, meaning that's a promise: statement of a possibility of coming, together with the speaker's intention of doing the action. Similarly, 'gecer' (-ir changes into -er to conform to the rules of vowel harmony) in troubles-telling responses reflects an optimistic possibility, as compared with the infallibility of the definite future, 'gececek' it will pass. Nonetheless, (I)r has been translated throughout this section as will because the possibility referred to

by this tense is intermingled with the user's faith in the possibility, and this cannot be captured by may.

4 An example found elsewhere shows that the same occurs in English although not necessarily with the utterance-initial item, 'of course':

Emma: You ought to see me broken out today God I t(hh)ook a ba:th,
and I'm just a ma:ss of b- little p(h)imp(h)les.: heh heh
'hhh
Lottie: Oh that's from uh:: N-nerves.

(Jefferson: 1984b, p. 347)

5. A similar approach is apparently true for English speakers as well. An example detected in Teresaki (1975) suggests that pointing out the unoriginal nature of the trouble is not Turkish culture specific:

R How are ya?
D. Oh I don't know. I don't feel good. I had trouble with my
stomach. I had pains all day.
R. We all do.

(p. 15)

Turner (1976) also contains a few words on the same subject:

'An issue that arises with the delivery of complaints in general is that they stand to be reformulated by their recipients; one possible response to a complaint, then is the offering of a remark whose import is to implicate a reformulation, typically a reformulation which proposes, e.g. that the complainer scarcely has the makings of a complaint, ...'

and he gives the following as an example of the above:

"You and a million other people" in response to a complaint which is thus made out to refer to a common plight, though treated by the complainer as peculiarly 'his'".

(p. 248)

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Discussions in this study are developed from two core concepts of politeness, namely, 'face' (Goffman, 1971, 1972) i.e. the ideal image that every individual tries to create for himself, and Face Threatening Acts (FTAs, Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987) or situations which are damaging for this creation. When Goffman's views on face protection and face rescue are combined with Brown and Levinson's study on face maintenance, politeness appears to have the functions of (i) avoiding FTAs, (ii) reducing the impact of FTAs, and (iii) recovering from the consequences of FTAs. This means that each turn is analyzable with its past, present and future connections to FTAs and such an approach seems to be in line with the dynamism of natural conversation. However, a collection of conversational extracts taken from various English sources indicates that these functional descriptions do not do enough justice to politeness as practised in conversation, and that FTAs are only a part of a larger system of face-work which is sensitive to changes in the face values of either speaker, whether the change is for the better or for the worse.

Thus, the notion of Interactional Imbalance, which is discovered in embryo form in the writings of Goffman (1971) and the research work of Owen (1983), and which refers to the state of disturbance of previously established face values, is extended upon under the guidance of the data to account for these extra facets.

The system is found to operate on the principle of opposite or equivalent second turns. In other words, when, for instance, the first speaker's face is threatened, the second speaker either boosts the other's face, or threatens his own. To account for the former eventuality, a further concept is introduced under the name 'Face Boosting Acts'. Apart from repairing the balance, these are found to disturb the balance in the first turn just as FTAs

do. At this point it becomes especially noticeable that an approach based on FTAs alone is not capable of tracing politeness over a sequence of turns, because a sequence does not necessarily consist of consecutive FTAs, but can be a succession of FTAs and FBAs.

In the hope of bringing clarity to the argument, FTAs and FBAs are differentiated in terms of their targets, i.e. whether they are directed to 'self' or 'other'.

Once concepts with contraposition like FTAs/FBAs and self/other are included in the framework, it becomes easy to see in whose advantage the balance changes. This is important because it is the same criterion that distinguishes polite interaction from impolite. Polite interaction is when the face values change to the advantage of the addressee and disadvantage of the speaker, while impolite interaction is the opposite of this. In the case of the latter, special speech markers (Dispreferred Turn Markers - DTMs) are observed to appear occasionally at the onset of the sequence, revealing the speaker's apprehension of the interaction type he is initiating. But perhaps more significant than this is the appearance of the same markers in turn types which fail to repair the balance, thus demonstrating the importance of keeping face values constant in conversation.

To investigate politeness in more detail we chose troubles-talk in naturally occurring Turkish conversations. The fact that similar results are obtained there stands as evidence for the wide practice of politeness across cultures, as well as strengthening the credibility of the framework in its present form.

Summary of the data analysis

In general, self-disclosure involves risks to face; this is more so in the case of troubles-telling. The teller of a trouble makes a bid for a new topic

but at the expense of losing face seriously. The reason for this is that it is possible to hear in troubles-telling a number of negative qualities attributable to the teller such as weakness for not having prevented the trouble, helplessness for not having dealt with it effectively, anxiety or depression under its pressure, etc. As a result of all these the balance gets disturbed.

Most cultures have fixed phrases like 'I'm sorry to hear that' or 'That's too bad' usable in such circumstances, but some languages are particularly rich in this area. Turkish is an example, with a large repertoire of conventional formulas and set expressions to acknowledge institutionalized and non-institutionalized trouble types. These appeared frequently in the data. The wording of them is such that the appeal is either to the teller to stop worrying himself over the trouble, or to super-human powers to put an end to the suffering (3.2.1.1). In either way, they convey in ready-made packages the sympathy that is necessary in order to return the teller's show of intimacy, and to boost his face. It is worth noting that once these expressions are placed in the sequence the politeness cycle gets completed (i.e. the face is threatened - the face is boosted, see Schema 1 on p.19) and the troubles-talk can stop. With its potentiality, the topic-closing-acknowledgements, as these expressions are collectively called in this study, are found to be useful devices in circumstances where the trouble is not serious enough to justify further talk, or where the continuation of the talk promises even more threats to face (see p.113). In this respect, such ready-made phrases work for two aspects of politeness: they boost face which has been damaged by troubles-telling, and they protect it from forthcoming dangers.

A number of disagreement responses which stand in contrast to the cultural clichés in their originality have similar consequences for the talk. They all stress the point that the situation which is alleged to be troublesome by the teller should not be so worrying. To undermine the allegation, the

matter-at-hand and other occurrences are compared, claims are made as to the commonplaceness and transience of the complaint, socially acceptable new qualifiers or names are found for the trouble, etc. It is interesting that although these responses do not carry the sympathy that is overtly present in conventional formulas or set expressions, they can terminate the troubles-talk just as effectively. Another interesting feature of some of these remarks is that they can introduce a new mentionable within the boundaries of troubles-talk which can then be developed into a new topic (5.2.2).

Despite the lack of sympathy and the un-cooperative tone, there is no subsequent dispute developing in the talk as a result of these, nor are there any signs of a dispreferred turn in their execution. Furthermore, there is sufficiently convincing evidence in the data (see p. 193) that these responses do not reflect the recipient's true feelings about the trouble. All this strongly suggests that they are based on socially familiar patterns which, if they appear after troubles-telling, are not interpreted as signs of hostility but are recognized as imbalance menders. Once they are looked at in this light, it makes sense of why the recipient is not hesitant in voicing disagreement, why the teller does not become troubles-defensive, and why troubles-talk can finish at this point.

An alternative to topic closing responses is the type which encourages the development of topic. This fits closely with our analysis in which troubles-telling is considered a proposal for a new topic: one speaker is making a bid and the other is accepting it. As such, it also provides support for the comments made by Richards and Schmidt (1983, see p.120 here) on the relation between topic and post-troubles-telling enquiries which, they say, have a more forceful way of returning the speaking ground to the teller than back channel types of passes do. However, while Richards and Schmidt talk about the topic continuing aspects of these responses, we concentrate on the face implications, something which back channel passes do not have. In

this capacity, surprise implicative acknowledgements like 'Aa::', 'Ha::', 'You don't say!', 'I don't believe it!' enable the recipient to demonstrate curiosity while posing to disbelieve in the face damaging report, questions on the related aspects of the topic show that it is of interest and concern to the recipient, and confirmatory remarks like 'Of course', 'sure', 'You're right' signal understanding and support (3.2.1.2), all help to bring the balance back to normal.

Although these acknowledgement types boost the teller's face through the creation of solidarity, one thing that they do not do is stop the troubles-talk. When speakers are ready to change the topic, then, this is signalled in the speech, and a topic-closing-acknowledgement is produced subsequently, but to close the talk this time, rather than to acknowledge the complaint.

While these responses are found to be relevant after troubles-telling because of the face-work that they do in a situation of impaired balance, the relevance of advice-giving in this location is of a different nature: advice is related to troubles-telling in the same way that a solution is related to a problem. Furthermore, the link between the two is deeper than that of a sequential ordering: advice may appear in the talk after the announcement of troubles, or equally, it may precede it (see example on p.137). This means that, although the relevance between troubles-telling and all acknowledgement types holds because of the interactional imbalance, the relevance between advice and troubles-telling is more to do with the activities themselves, regardless of the face situation (see also remarks on Conditional Relevance on p. 216). Following from this, it can be said that advice ignores what the disclosure of trouble does to the teller's face. On top of that, there are also two more facts about advice-giving: it grants superiority to its giver in finding solutions, and poses a challenge as to the severity of the trouble. The neglect of the interactional imbalance, coupled with such extra threats to

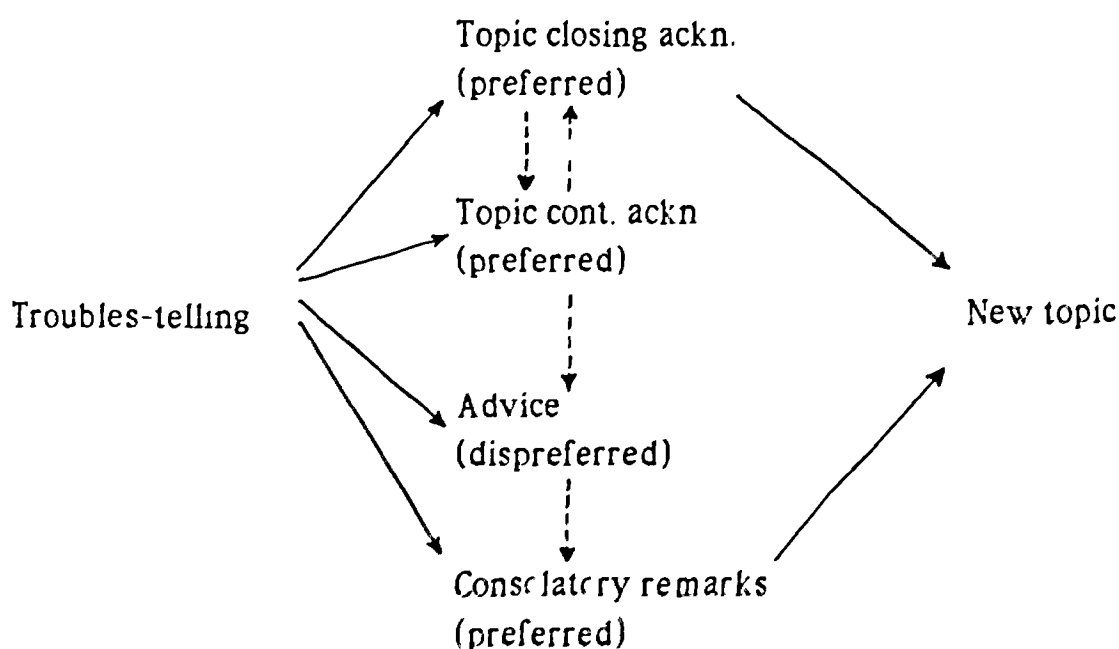
face, explains why unsolicited advice after troubles-telling is performed as a dispreferred turn.

To soften these threats, forms of mitigation, extra features and hesitation markers are used in advice turns but they do not prevent advice rejections in post-advice position. This is understandable, because the fact that it is softened has no effect on the nature of the activity, which is advice in either form ('crude' or 'refined') although analysis shows that DTMs weaken the impact of the act on the face values of the speakers (see p.31). The advice rejections are again a part of the notion of Interactional Imbalance: the one whose face is overdue for a boost and, in fact, is threatened even further, is now adjusting the balance by refusing the other's superiority and thus putting his face down.

Among the rejectory activities after advice, the redundancy remarks by which the teller claims unoriginality for the advised course of action (e.g. 'I have already done that' or 'I'm thinking about it myself anyway') leave little or no room for dispute and provide an early passage to other types of responses which can close the troubles-talk. But if they are declinations (i.e. reasons why advice cannot be implemented) the talk continues. The important discovery here is that while the topic-continuing-acknowledgements which are face boosting in nature expand the talk until a further point in the future when the topic can be closed with one of the topic-closing-acknowledgements; advice, which is a dispreferred turn, and its declination do not leave room for such a proper closure. This situation is explainable as follows: each piece of advice which is offered as a response to troubles-telling repeats the face threat and has to be declined. Each declination, on the other hand, aborts the previous advice and reiterates the stimulus to find a solution. Thus, the two form a chain which is difficult to stop, and exhibit how intertwined face considerations, speaker turns, and topic can get: the troubles-recipient tries to solve the problem, the troubles-teller tries to save

his face from further damage, and the topic gets maintained between the two. The topic obviously has to change at some point, but it does so rather abruptly and following a submissive turn type which makes no contribution to the repair of the Interactional Imbalance (see Ext. 9, line 25, on p. 255).

Following from all this a schema like the one below can be devised. The horizontal, solid lines mark the three stages of the progress of the talk. The dotted vertical lines indicate the possible expansions that can occur in between the turn-types. Reading from the schema, for instance, it is possible to see that topic-closing-acknowledgements and consolatory remarks can bring the troubles-talk to a halt in the second turn as a result of which a new topic has to be introduced. In comparison, there is no chance of changing the topic right after a topic-continuing-acknowledgement or advice if either of these is given as a response to troubles-telling. To close the talk, a diversion has to be made to a turn-type which has topic-closing potentialities. Otherwise the impact of an improper closure will be felt as it is in the case of Ext. 9 (line 25, p. 255). Notice that a quick way out of the advice turn into a new topic would be through an acceptance of advice but this hardly ever occurs in unmarked contexts.



Theoretical implications

Our predictions about the strong influence of politeness on the organisation of talk have found enough evidence in the use of certain speech markers (such as dispreferred turn features) and the choice of turn-types (for example, sympathy loaded acknowledgements and consolatory remarks) especially when these are evaluated in the light of Interactional Imbalance. Within this framework, it becomes easy to understand why an activity like advice, which is essentially relevant after troubles-telling but does not correct the imbalance, is a dispreferred turn type. However, the varying volume of what is enclosed within the boundaries of troubles-talk is indicative of the fact that the repair mechanism of Interactional Imbalance is not limited to the choice of speech markers and the next-turn-type alone: troubles-talk stretching over a number of turns shows that there is a distinct unit in the conversation, a unit which has so far been referred to by the vague term of 'sequence' and which is similarly affected by considerations of politeness.

A sequence is a series of turns joined to one another by 'conditional relevance'. This term is defined by Schegloff (1972a):

"By conditional relevance of one item on another we mean: given the first, the second is expectable; upon its occurrence it can be seen to be a second item to the first, upon its non-occurrence it can be seen to be officially absent - all this provided by the occurrence of the first item."

(p. 364)

Schegloff gives this definition during the analysis of a strict adjacency pair of summonses like:

Summoner: Bill?

Summoned: What

the second part of which does not allow a great variation. On the other hand, Levinson (1983) says:

"A ... problem that arises with the notion of an adjacency pair concerns the range of potential seconds to a first part. Unless for any given first part there is a small or at least delimited set of seconds the concept will cease, it seems, to describe the tight organisation in conversation that is its principal attraction. But in fact there are, for example, a great many responses to questions other than answers which nevertheless count as acceptable seconds. ... However, the importance of the notion is revived by the concept of preference organisation. The central insight here is that not all the potential second parts to a first part of an adjacency pair are of equal standing: there is a ranking operating over the alternatives such that there is at least one preferred and one dispreferred category of response."

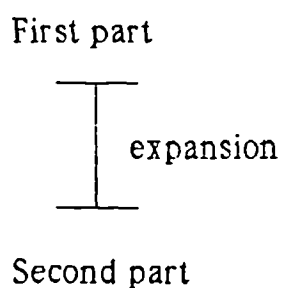
(pp. 306 - 7)

What can be added on to the notion of conditional relevance here is that the imbalance mending responses in troubles-talk are in the preferred category while the ones which do not contribute to the repair of the balance are in the other. It can also be said that some activities which normally appear in the preferred format acquire their conditional relevance not from the tight link that holds between the activities such as the one between troubles-telling and advice, but from the adjustments they provide for the face implications of the first turn. For example, boasting, which is a self-assessment, should take agreement/disagreement as the next relevant activity, like all other assessments (Pomerantz, 1975, 1984). However, criticism appears at this point as an equally relevant, if not more relevant activity, because of the work it does for the restoration of balance.

As the turns which are bound to one another with conditional relevance vary in number, so does the length of the sequence. In its most compressed form, a troubles telling sequence consists of two turns, although occasionally there is a third turn joining in: 'troubles telling' + 'formulaic

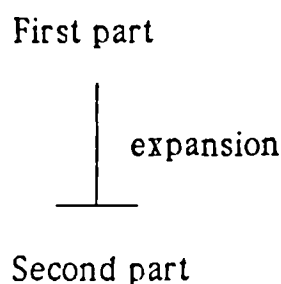
expression' + 'appreciation'. The combination can be quite independent of the adjoining sequences. Alternatively, the second turn can close the first part of the current sequence (or pair) while at the same time starting a new one. As a result, two sequences overlap. For example, 'Remember what Kerem says' is a relevant response to the prior complaint while it simultaneously acquires the status of a first turn in a story-telling sequence (p.184, a similar occurrence is in Ext. 28, p. 183).

On the other hand, the sequence can be expanded with several turns and in a variety of ways. There is an expansion type that is already known in the area of Conversational Analysis as an 'insertion sequence' which is a pair, holding within its parts one or more other pairs (Schegloff, 1972a, also p.126 here):

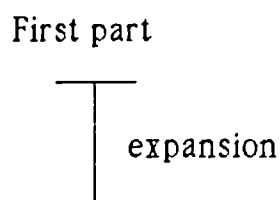


What has been encountered in troubles-talk is quite different both in terms of conversational structure and motivation.

One type of expansion is due to a succession of preferred turn types which expand the first part of the pair until a satisfactory point is reached for the production of the second part (complete sequences):



An alternative expansion develops when a dispreferred turn type is offered and rejected as a second part recurrently. This type is more likely to end without a second part whose absence will confer 'incompleteness' on the sequence (incomplete sequences):



For example, see 'Hā: : ' (Ext. 9, line 25, p.255), which only evaluates the last information given in the sequence and does not normally count as a conditionally relevant response to troubles-telling. In other words it is not possible to relate 'Hā: : ' to the trouble of eating fish and chips every night in the same way that prescribing ointment is related to the disclosure of an ailment (see the example on p.126). In this position, therefore, 'Hā: : ' only indicates the disappearance of the enthusiasm to carry on with the topic, which duly changes in the next turn. A comparison of this with 'Let's hope for the best' (Ext. 13, line 12, p. 262) will help to clarify the distinction that is being drawn here between complete and incomplete sequence types. Not only is 'Let's hope for the best' a conditionally relevant second to troubles-telling, but as it stands it also covers the whole case of trouble which has been developed through topic-continuing-acknowledgements. Speculatively speaking, most disputes would probably fit into the 'incomplete sequence' type (see Schifffrin's - 1985 - comments on ending arguments) and most story-tellings which receive an evaluative comment at the end of the story, into the 'complete sequence' one. However, coming back to the main point, neither of the developmental procedures are like that of the insertion sequence.

On the motivation side, in insertion sequences, expansion suspends the main second part until some crucial matters are clarified before a second can be produced, and therefore, it serves a pragmatic purpose (see Levinson 1983, p. 305, for a similar comment). The objective of expansion in troubles-telling sequences, on the other hand, is related to politeness. For example, the expansion which involves the topic continuing acknowledgements (complete sequences) develops as a result of the recipient boosting the teller's face. The one involving 'advice' + 'rejection of advice' pairs is motivated by the teller's efforts to save his own face (incomplete sequences). Of course, pragmatic 'insertion sequences' can occur in troubles-talk too, but if they do, then the face-work will be deferred until their completion.

On the subject of 'topic', it has already been mentioned (p. 78) that associating it with co-referentiality (Goldberg, 1983), or shared pre-suppositions (Keenan and Schaeffelin, 1976) creates some practical problems, because topic can change although the referent can be carried over into the next sequence, and pre-suppositions are so unlimited that one can be found to cover any two utterances. Levinson and Owen (1981) propose an alternative solution and define 'topic' in terms of conversational activities. They claim that topics and activities register a simultaneous change, and usually these changing points in the conversation are marked with special items like 'anyway', 'by the way', 'incidentally' etc. In this study 'topic' is similarly found to be closely linked with sequences, and running parallel with the turns. For example, in a 'troubles-telling' + 'formulaic expression' + 'appreciation' sequence, the topic usually has no connection with the topic of the neighbouring sequences. In complete sequences, the placement of a second part normally blocks the current topic, and any exceptions are marked as 'irregularity' (p.112). In incomplete sequences, as a result of the submissive turn, which ends the expansion but does not correct the imbalance, the topic again changes, although somewhat awkwardly (see Ext.

9, lines 25-26, p.255). There is, however, a further point which has not previously been raised elsewhere: in troubles-telling - and indeed in all cases of disturbed balance - topic is not about a 'particular object' or a 'particular activity', it is 'the issue over which an Interactional Imbalance occurs', and it lasts as long as the sequence continues because of face considerations. The end of the sequence and topic comes naturally when the Interactional Imbalance is resolved. If imbalance is not corrected, both sequence and topic suffer a perfunctory closure.

As these results in Turkish are arrived at through a framework which was initially set up for English, we expect that our discussion will also apply to a considerable extent to languages/cultures other than English and Turkish, provided that the same importance is attached to face, and troubles-telling is equally face damaging in similar relationships. The only difference we envisage will be in the areas of form and intensity. In other words, showing surprise, for instance, may not be correct after troubles-telling in Language X, or repeating advice may not be appropriate in Language Y, but an eventual inventory of these similarities and differences should pave a further step forward to answering the question of 'What is universal and what is culture-specific in language?'.

In conclusion, we hope to have demonstrated that speech markers, turns, sequences, and topic are tightly linked to Interactional Imbalance, and that considerations of politeness are among the major factors which bind the pieces of conversation together and contribute to the preservation of continuity, order, and co-operation in this social activity.

* * * * *

We would like to finish off on a less serious tone, firstly to lift the gloominess that has descended upon the work because of the subject matter,

and also to demonstrate how easy it is now to see the humour in the following anecdote of troubles-talk, where the response, although in a pattern of politeness, fails to be polite as it does not contain the face boosting element:

'A young man who has lost all his money comes in despair to Nasreddin Hodja (one of the great Turkish legendary heroes of humour). 'What will become of me?' he moans, 'I have no money and no friends'. 'Don't worry,' says Nasreddin, 'you'll soon be alright'. The young man brightens up. 'You mean I'll get rich again, and get back my friends?' 'No,' replies the Hodja, 'but you'll get used to being poor and friendless.'

(Hotham 1972, p. 150)

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APPENDIX

1. Context

Necessary details of context are given at the beginning of each extract. Participants' sex and age are indicated within brackets, e.g.

N (f-57)

meaning N is female and 57 years old.

Sections of talk from the same context are divided by a time indicator, e.g.

(a f t e r 15 m i n u t e s)

(L a t e r) is used for those sections which cannot be related timewise to the previous section because of the fact that they are recorded on the reverse side of the tape.

2. Translation

a) Abbreviations

-acc: accusative case suffix

-gen: genitive case suffix

REDUP.: Reduplication which is quite common in colloquial Turkish. It is usually the repetition of the same word, the first letter of which is replaced by 'm' in the reduplicated form, e.g. 'kitap mitap' (book or whatever).

Q: question suffix

b) Utterances which do not have a complicated grammatical structure are not allocated a line for syllable-by-syllable translation. E.g.

A: Tabi tabi

Sure, sure.

c) The first line of every piece of impressionistic translation is numbered and it is these numbers which are referred to after each example in the main text.

d) Syllables are divided from one another with '/' .

3. Notational System

| | |
|-------------|--|
| = | : continuous utterances |
| (1.0) | : seconds and tenths of seconds of intervals when there is no speech |
| (.) | : discernable pause but less than a tenth of a second |
| ? | : rising intonation, usually but not necessarily indicating a question |
| , | : continuing intonation in between utterances |
| . | : stopping fall in intonation, usually but not necessarily indicating the end of an utterance |
| ! | : animated tone |
| ::: | : continuation of the preceeding sound |
| - | : cutoff sound |
| <u>Line</u> | : discernable stress in parts of utterances |
| CAPITAL | : emphatic stress in parts of utterances |
| .hhh | : discernable aspiration |
| (()) | : contextual descriptions to help the reader |
| () | : additional material to assist in conveying meaning in translated versions |
| (...) | : unintelligible |
| → | : attention-drawer to a particular utterance |
| hehh | : laughter |
| Ha:: | : continuously falling intonation |

Simultaneous utterances are indicated only by starting the next Turkish text at the point where the previous one was interrupted. A separate notational symbol could not be used due to the lines of intervening translation.

4. Pronunciation characteristics of the Turkish alphabet

| <u>Letters</u> | <u>Approximate pronunciation</u> |
|----------------|----------------------------------|
| A a | other, cut, come |
| B b | beautiful, buy |
| C c | jelly, jam |
| Ç ç | church, change |
| D d | dear, doll |
| E e | red, net |

| <u>Letters</u> | <u>Approximate pronunciation</u> |
|----------------|----------------------------------|
| F f | fine, foul |
| G g | good, guy |
| Ğ ğ | weight, neighbour |
| H h | hard, hell |
| I ı | wanted, remarkable |
| İ i | thin, pin |
| J j | pleasure, measure |
| K k | cold, kite, cat |
| L l | lilac, lull |
| M m | me, mine |
| N n | no, nine |
| O o | poet |
| Ö ö | deux, seul in French |
| P p | pebble, pie |
| R r | rhyme, red |
| S s | send, see |
| Ş ş | sharp, short |
| T t | tell, truth |
| U u | put, foot |
| Ü ü | tu, sur in French |
| V v | away, weight |
| Y y | year, youth |
| Z z | zebra, zero |

In the Turkish alphabet, while q, w, and x of the English alphabet do not appear, there are six new letters, namely, ç, ğ, ı, ş, ö, and ü. Most of the consonants, such as b, d, f, l, m, n, p, t, y, and z, are identical in their pronunciation, while the others are different.

c represents the sound of j, as in jam, jury, and jazz.

ç represents the sound of ch, as in church, change.

g is always the hard g of English, as in gale, gun, gust.

ğ which never occurs at the beginning of a word is at present used to lengthen the vowel it follows. In the following words, öğretmen, ağlatmak, igne, öğle, the use of ğ lengthens the preceeding vowel, similar to the vowel sound in moon, soon, please, cheese. When ğ is preceded and followed by front vowels e and i, it is normally pronounced as a y sound, as in the English words pain, delay.

h is always pronounced as in high, hard, harvest
s is always an s sound, not sometimes z as in English,
 as sign, similar, sister, not as in reason.
ş represents the sound of sh in shoe, shine, shimmer
v this consonant is generally pronounced like w in English.
 It is weak. In the word kuvvet where there is a double
v, it resembles the English v.

(Mardin, Y., 1976, Colloquial Turkish, Routledge and
 Kegan Paul, pp. 3-4.)

EXTRACT 1

Context: A (f-32) and her mother-in-law, N (f-57) are in S's (hostess-58) house. S is N's friend.

A: Burada telefon varmı?
Here/ telephone/existent-Q/

1 Is there a telephone here?

N: Yok (.) Telefonu ne yapacaksın?
No/ Telephone-acc/what/will do-you/

2 No (.) What do you want the telephone for?

A: Arzudan ilacı istiyecektim Panaljindi
Arzu-from/medicine-acc/was going to ask-I/Panaljin-was/

galiba=
perhaps/

3 I was going to ask Arzu (to bring the) medicine I think it was Panaljin=

S: =Bende var, bi dakika ben getireyim hemen,
In me/existent/one minute/I/ will bring-I/immediately

bende var.
in me/existent

4 =I've got it, give me a second and I'll bring it immediately
I've got it.

EXTRACT 2

Context: K (f-57) is visiting her distant relative, E (hostess-50) in her new country-side house.

K: Ay::: çiçeklerinde konuşuyo ayol
flowers-your-too/talking/ I say/

1 Ah! Your flowers are beautiful.

E: Buruştu. Bayramda koduydum.
Wrinkled/in Bayram/put-I/

2 They have faded away. I put them here at Bayram.

K: Öylemi: ver götüreyim oğalde hah hah.
Thus-Q/ give/will take-I/in that case/

3 Really? In that case, give (them to me) let me take (them) away hah hah.

E: Götür vallahi
Take/ by God/

4 Take them, honestly.

K: Çok güzel.
Very/beautiful/

5 They're beautiful.

E: e- a- buruştu.
wrinkled/

6 er- they have faded.

EXTRACT 3

Context: S (m-32) who is on a short visit to his home town is talking to his parents' neighbour, K (m-40) in their house.

K: Parayı hala:: kaybediyoruz.
Money-acc/still/ losing-we/

1 The rate of exchange is still going down.

S: Öyle, maalesef maalesef.
Thus/ unfortunately/unfortunately/

2 Yes, unfortunately, unfortunately.

EXTRACT 4

Context: N (m-35) has just brought his sister-in-law to her grandfather's (D, m-65) house. In response to D who insinuates that the couple have arrived later than expected, the talk progresses from early fall of night to urban terrorism.

N: Gerçi siz elektrikleri biparça erken yakmışsınız.
But/ you/electricals-acc/a little/early/put on-you/

1 You have, however, put on the lights rather early.

D: Ama bugün için artık karanlık falan vesaire
But/today/for/ anymore/darkness/the like/etcetera/

mevzubahis değil, ama ortalık karanlık.
under discussion/not/ but/ surroundings/dark/

2 But today darkness and so on is not of importance, the (political) atmosphere is dark.

N: Tabi::, çok doğru.
Of course/very/right/

3 Sure, you're absolutely right.

D: Ortalık karanlık
Surroundings/dark/

4 The (political) atmosphere is dark.

N: Ortalık karanlık, evet.
Surroundings/dark/ yes/

5 The (political) atmosphere is dark, yes.

EXTRACT 5

Context: A (f-32) is staying at her mother-in-law's house
 during the recuperation period of her son's circumcision
 S (f-40) is the neighbour from the flat below.

S: Napiyo, Kerem napiyo?
 What-doing/Kerem/what-doing/

1 How is (he), how is Kerem?

A: Kerem hasta, bugün hasta Kerem.
 Kerem/ill/ today/ill/ Kerem/

2 Kerem's ill, Kerem's ill today.

S: A:: yazık. Ne grip gibi falanmı?
 shame/ What/'flu/like/like something-Q/

3 A:: shame! What, is it something like 'flu?

A: Gibi, ha. Grip heralde. Sinan dün fenaydı.
 Like/ yeah/'Flu/possibly/ Sinan/yesterday/was bad/

Sinan kalktı, Kerem yattı.
 Sinan/got up/ Kerem/went down/

4 Something like it, yes. I think it's 'flu. Sinan wasn't
 well yesterday, he got up, Kerem has gone down.

S: Geçmiş olsun, geçer.
 May it be past/will pass/

5 May it be past, it will pass.

A: Ya, merisi, hı (.) Şey açık sünnet dolayısıyla
 Yeah/thanks/ Thing/open/circumcision/according/

6 Yeah, thanks, he (.) Well, because of circumcision (it's)
 open

S: Ha:
 7 Ha:

A: Bişi yok içinde. Dünde balkonda
 One thing/non-existent/in him. Yesterday too/in balcony/
 oynadılar galiba üşüttü.
 played-they/possibly/caught cold

8 There isn't anything underneath. Yesterday, they played in
 the balcony for a while, he possibly caught a cold.

S: Ha
 9 Ha

S: Nede olsa alır
 Whatever/happens/catches/

10 Naturally he catches it

- A: Alıyo
Catching/
- 11 He does
- S: Havadan alır (.) Giyinse
From weather/catches/ If wears/
kilot filân gibi bişi olmuyo heralde.
pants/so on/like/one thing/not being/possibly/
- 12 He catches it from the air (.) It
isn't possible I suppose for him to wear pants or something.
- A: Valla şeyyapıyoruz. Sünnetçi daha ilk gün söyledi
Really/thing-doing-we/Circumsizer/then/first day/said/
giysin diye fakat ısrar ediyö acıtiyo diyo
let him wear/saying/but/ insisting-he/hurting/saying-he/
- 13 Believe me, we are doing the thingumbob. The circumsizer
said even on the first day, that he should wear pants, but
(he) insists that (the pants) hurt him (more).
- S: Yo::, daha iyi olur, hani onun ılığında
No/ more/well/will be/you know/its/ in warmness/
nede olsa
whatever happens/
- 14 No::, it would be better for him, with its warmness, you
know
- A: Esasında öyle olsa daha iyi, mikroptan falanda
In reality/thus/if-happens/more/well/from germs/so on-too/
muaf olur ama
free/will be/but
- 15 As a matter of fact, it would, additionally, he will be
protected more from germs and whatever, but
(a f t e r 1 6 m i n u t e s)
- S: Oynıyalım diye çıktı şeyinen (.) Kerem ile ama
Let's play/saying/came up/with thingy/Kerem/with/but/
- 16 ((referring to her son who is quietly sitting beside her))
He came up to play with, what'sit (.) with Kerem but
- A: Hayallah! Oda uyuyor, ateşten bitkin düştü
Good Lord/he-too/sleeping/from temperature/exhausted/fell/
uyuyor.
sleeping/
- 17 What a pity! He's sleeping, he's been exhausted with high
temperature, he's sleeping.

S: Bizde görüyorda hoşuna gitti Kerem=
In ours/seeing then/ liked/ Kerem/

18 He's seen Kerem at our place, and liked him=

A: =Tabi tabi

19 =Sure, sure.

EXTRACT 6

Context: A (f-32) is visiting her ex-house-help, K (f-40), after an interval of several years. Ahmet and Advije whose names are mentioned in the conversation are K's children

A: Ha nasılsın=
how-you/

1 Well, how are you=

K: =Teşekkür ederim, işte zıyanımız yok
Thank you/ like this/our harm/non-existent/

2 =Thank you. As you see I'm not in a great trouble.

A: İyisin?
Well-you/

3 You're well?

(0.1)

K: Biraz hastalığınan uğraşıyorum.
A bit/with illness/struggling-I/

4 I'm trying to cope with an illness.

A: Ne öyle ne hastalığı?
What/thus/what/illness/

5 What's that? What sort of an illness?

K: Eh, gayri bu girintiye ben iyi dayandım yanı
besides/this/to hole/ I /well/resisted-I/that is/

alt katlarda, rutubetli yerlerde biraz romatizma
bottom/floors/ with dampness/ in places/little/rheumatism/

var. Miğde ağrısı var. Ülser oldu miğdemde
existent/Stomach/pains/existent/ulcer/happened/in my stomach/

6 Well, still, I have survived successfully in this hole, that is, in the basement, in damp places. I've got rheumatism, and stomach-ache. There's an ulcer in my stomach.

A: Öylemi::?
Thus-Q/

7 Is that so?

K: Ya:

8 Yes.

- A: Geçmiş olsun
- 9 May it be past.
- K: Sağolasın, eh şükür Allaha. ADVİYE! Bak hele
May you live long/ thanks be to God/Adviye/ Look here/
bak kovalarım ha. Nereye gidiyorsun ö:le yine? Bidakka
look/will chase/To where/ going you/thus/again/One minute/
sana bişi söyliyecem.
to you/one thing/will tell-I/
- 10 Thanks. Well, thanks to God. ADVİYE look here, look here
(I'll catch you) where are you going like this again?
(Wait) a minute, I'll tell you something.
(a f t e r 3 m i n u t e s)
- K: Şükür Allaha o kadar değilimde arada arada yapıyo=
Thanks be to God/that much/I am not/ time to time/doing/
- 11 Thank God, I'm not that (bad) but it happens from time to
time=
- A: =Ha:
- 12 =Ha:
- K: O kadar
- 13 That much
- A: E:?
- 14 So?
- K: Eh napıcan arada üşütüyorsunuz işte.
will do-you/at times/catching cold-we/like this/
- 15 What can be done? I get a cold from time to time.
- A: Yaşlandıkça hepimizde bitakım bişiler çıkıyo Kezban
With age/ in all of us/several/things/coming up/Kezban/
yani bendede başladı. Bizim orası malum şey
that is/in me-too/started/ Our/ place/well-known/thing/
iklim bendede var yağıştan. Onunçin
weather type/in me-too/existent/from rains/For that reason/
- K: Öyledir
Thus-it is/
- 16 I believe you
- A: sıkma kendini oluyo bunlar
don't squeeze/yourself/happening/these/
- 17 Well, Kezban, lots of things get a hold on us with the
age, as well. We have it too. I've started to get
rheumatism as well, you know, our climate there is, well,

wet, I've got it as well, so don't worry about it, these things do happen.

(a f t e r 1 0 m i n u t e s)

K: Ben çok değiştim bak hele Ayşe Hanım, şimdi noluyo
I/very/changed-I/look here,Ayşe Hanım/ now/ what is
happening

biliyonmu, apartmanı alıyo benim başıma brakıveriyö.
you know-Q/apartment-acc/takes/my/ to my head/leaving/

Bu çocuklarla uğraşma, çarşı yapma, kolay iş değil
This/with children/to deal/ shopping/ easy/work/ not/

yani valla bö:le
that is/ really/thus/

18 I've changed a lot, look here, Ayşe Hanım, now, do you know
what happens, ((referring to her husband)) he first gets
the block of flats, then he leaves everything to me.
Looking after these children, doing the shopping (for the
flats), it is not easy, you know

A: Değil tabi=
Not/ of course/

19 Sure, it isn't=

K: =Çok, Ahmet hiçbir yapmıyo Ahmet bu sene değişti.
Very/Ahmet/no work/not doing/ Ahmet/this year/changed/

20 =Very, Ahmet doesn't help at all, Ahmet has changed a lot
this year.

A: Eh blüğ çağları onların
puberty/periods/their/

21 Well, it's the age of puberty.

K: Dama çıkmış. Demin çağırma-a gittim gelmedi.
To roof/went up/Recently/to call/ went-I/ did not come/

22 He went up onto the roof. I've just gone out to call him
in, he didn't come.

A: Delilik çağı artık, bu buluş çağına gelince
Madness/period/then/ this/puberty/to period/when coming/

deliriyö onlar. Geçer
going mad/they/ Will pass/

23 It's just the age when they're mad, when they get to this
time of puberty, they go mad. It'll pass.

K: Vallai hep ögle oluyo. Arkadaşları dıyomda(.) Hepsi
Really/always/thus/happening/His friends/I say/ All/

deli Ayşanım vallahi. Oğlum konuşma şu çocukla
 mad/Ayşe Hanım/I swear/ My son/don't talk/that/with child/
 diyomda hep gene gidiyo onnana.
 saying-I/always/again/ going/ with them/

24 I swear, it's always like this. As for his friends (.)
 they all are mad, Ayşe Hanım, believe me. I tell him, 'Son,
 don't talk to that boy', but he still goes out with them.

A: Eh tabi (.) Ad-Adviye kocaman olmuş
 of course/ Adviye/very big/became/

25 Well, of course (.) Ad-Adviye has grown a lot.

K: Hiç gene bu küçük gene, bu sene iyi okuyo küçük.
 None/still/this/little/still/ this year/well/reading/little/

26 Still, this young one, this year the young one is doing
 well at school.

EXTRACT 7

Context: N (f-57), her sister, S (f-52), and their distant
 relative, R (f-50) are in the kitchen on the eve of
 the circumcision, preparing food for the next day's
 party.

N: Bu tayyare sesleride çok fena.
 This/aéroplane/noises/ very/bad/

1 These aeroplane noises are so disturbing.

S: Aman gene iyi. Hatırlarmısın eskiden bide geceleri
 Mercy/still/well/You remember-Q/ previously/more/at nights/

uçarlardı Boom BOOM (...) Ses duvarını mı aşarlardı
 flew-they/Boom Boom/ Sound/wall-acc-Q/ go beyond/

ne, hiç uyutmazlardı.
 what/ none/did not let sleep/

2 But still it's better. You remember, in the old days they
 used to fly even at night, boom BOOM (...) I think they
 were breaking the sound barrier, they used to keep us
 all awake.

(a f t e r 8 m i n u t e s)

N: Haticenin gelinini çok merak ediyorum
 Hatice's/daughter-in-law-acc/very/I am worrying/

3 I'm worried about Hatice's daughter-in-law.

S: Neden?

4 Why?

N: O gün hasta:neden çıktık, yazık ablası yanında
 That day/from hospital/came out-we/pity/her sister/by her
 side/

ikiz çocuk, biri ablanın elinde biri kendi
twins/ one of them/sister's/in hand/one of them/own/

elinde, kocası falan yok (...) Merakediyorum
in hand/her husband/so on/non-existent/I am curious/

acaba sağmı çocukları.
I wonder/alive-Q/her children/

5 That day we were discharged from the hospital, that poor thing, her sister (was) by her side, (had) twins, one of them was with the sister, the other was with her, her husband and so on were not there (...) I wonder whether her children are still alive.

S: E, telefonları falan yokmu?
Well then/telephones/ so on/non-existent-Q/

6 Well then, haven't they got a telephone or something?

N: Yok.
Non-existent/

7 No, they haven't.

(a f t e r 1 5 m i n u t e s)

N: Ay:: limonumuz kalmamış
our lemon/ran out/

8 Ay:: we don't have any lemons left.
(0.3)

R: E, niye sirke komuyosun?
why/ vinegar/not putting-you/

9 In that case, why don't you put vinegar instead?

N: Sirkemizde yokki
Our vinegar-too/non-existent-anyway/

10 We don't have vinegar either.

(a f t e r 7 m i n u t e s)

N: Aman! Bu sineklerde içeri doluveriyo
These/flies/ inside/cramming in/

11 Mercy! These flies flock in.

S: Dolar, açık oldumuydu pencereler, dolar.
Flock in-they/open/ when being/ windows/ flock in-they/

12 They do, when the windows are open, they do.

(a f t e r 25 m i n u t e s)

R: Tencereye doğrıyayımı?
In pan/ will cut-I-Q/

13 Shall I cut this into the pan?

- N: Dur (.)tabak vereyim sana
Stop/ plate/will give-I/to you/
- 14 Hold on, let me give you a (.) plate.
(0.9)
- N: Şuna doğru Rukiye
To this/cut/ Rukiye/
- 15 Cut it into this, Rukiye.
- R: Hm-hm.
- 16 Hm-hm.

EXTRACT 8

Context: A (f-40) and her husband, S (m-40) are at home
in the evening.

- A: Yorgunmusun?
Tired-Q-you/
- 1 Are you tired?
- S: Canım sıkılıyo çok
My inside squeezing/very/
- 2 I feel very frustrated.
(1.0)
- A: Niye no:ldu?
Why/ what happened/
- 3 Why, what happened?
- S: Yau, bugün, bak Bord Mi:tingde seksenyedinin bütçesine
Well/today/look/in Board Meeting/eighty-seven's/budget-acc/

bakıyoruz
looking-we/
- 4 Well, today, look, at the Board Meeting we were looking
at the budget for 1987.

(l a t e r)
- S: M.. istifa etti biliyomusun?
resigned/ knowing-Q-you/
- 5 M.. has resigned, do you know?
- A: A:::
- 6 A:::
- S: Sabah verdi mektubunu=
Morning/gave/ her letter/
- 7 She gave her letter in this morning=
- A: =Enolucak?
Well then-what-will happen/

8 =So, what's going to happen?

S: Bilmem.
Don't know-I/

9 I don't know.

A: Gazeteye ilan ver istersen
To newspaper/advertisement/give/if want-you/

10 Advertise in the newspaper, if you (like) want.
(0.2)

S: İşte, artık bişiler yapıcaz.
There/then/somethings/will do-we/

11 Well, yes, we'll do something or other.

(a f t e r 1 5 m i n u t e s)

A: Ay, oğlanı hazırlamak bütün gün sürdü.
boy-acc/to prepare/whole/day/lasted/

12 Ay, the preparations for the boy lasted the whole day.
(1.0)

S: Benim mektubun üstünden geçmedinmi hayatım?
My/ letter's/from surface/didn't pass-you-Q/my life/

13 Haven't you gone over my letter, darling?

A: Geçti::m, hazır.
Passed-I/ready/

14 I have, it's ready.

S: Hele bu patırtı bitsinde adama bi telefon edelim.
Wait/this/clatter/finishes-then/man-acc/one/let's 'phone/

15 Let's wait until this chaos is over, and then let's also
give him a ring.

(a f t e r 2 2 m i n u t e s)

S: Sana bi tavsiyede bulunabilirmiyim hayatım?
To you/one/ can make an advice-Q-I/ my life/

16 Can I give you some advice, darling?

A: Evve::t?

17 Ye::s?

S: O pantolonu bida: giyme
That/trousers-acc/again/don't wear/

18 Don't wear those trousers again.

A: A niye::?

19 Oh, wh::y?

S: Seni çok götlü göbekli gösteriyo.
You-acc/very/with bottom/with a belly/showing/

20 They make you look larger on the tummy and the bottom.

A: Ohh (.)hh hah:: ha::

21 Ohh (.)hh hah:: ha::

(l a t e r)

A: Ay çok zor be
very/difficult/I say/

22 Ay, it really is very difficult.

S: Bunu bitirince kendine biara ver
This-acc/when finish-you/to yourself/one interval/give/
hayatım.
my life/

23 When you finish this, give yourself an interval, darling.

A: Bende ö:le düşünüyorum ama Hazirana fazla vakit kalmadı.
I too/thus/thinking-I/but/ to June/ a lot/time/not left/

24 I have been thinking the same but (on the other hand)
there isn't much time left until June.

EXTRACT 9

Context: S (m-35) who works in a different city, is visiting his home for a short holiday. He is talking here to his wife, A (f-35) on the first evening.

S: Bu gelişim biraz lüks oldu ama,
This/my coming/little/luxury/happened/but/

1 My coming here was a bit expensive this time.

A: Ziyarı yok dört gün şeyin var baksana
Harm non-existent/four/day/your thing/existent/just look/

2 Never mind, look, you have got four days' thingy (holiday)

S: Hı

3 Yeah

A: dinlenirsin.
will rest-you/

4 you will have a rest.

S: Ordada hafta sonu oldumu canım sıkılıyor. Hani
There/ weekend/ when happens/my inside gets squeezed/Well/

öbür türlü (.) şeyde (.) vakit geçiyor politeknikte.
other/kind/ in thing/ time/ passing/in polytechnic/

Yani ders hazırlıyorum şudur budur. Hafta sonu
That is/lesson/preparing-I/so on and so on/Week end/

oldumu tek başına insan. Hani biyere
happens-Q/single/head/ man/ You know/to one place/

gitse bitürlü insan yer bilmiyosun iz
if goes/one thing/ man/ place/don't know-you/trace/

bilmiyosun yerler tehlikeli açılmak istemiyorum
don't know-you/places/dangerous/to go away/not wanting-I/

yani böyle - ulan böyle evde, geçen hafta
that is/like this/well/like this/in house/last/ week/

sabahtan akşama kadar evdeydim
from morning/to night/until/was in house-I/

- 5 When it gets to the weekend there, I feel bored. Well alternatively, (.) at the (.) polytechnic the time passes. That is, you prepare the lesson, this and that. When it gets to the weekend one is on one's own. That is, if you just go somewhere, that's another matter, one, you don't know the place, you don't know the way, it's a dangerous area, I don't want to go out. Like this- well at home like this, last week I was in the house from morning until night

A: Aynı şekilde ay banada
Same/in form/ to me/

bir sıkıntı bastı bu ara bak dün
one/depression/fell/this interval/look/yesterday too/

söyledim ya sana. Sabah kalk dokuzda onda
told-I/ you know/to you/Morning/get up/at nine/at ten/

neyse, Keremi götür bırak okula, ondan sona
whatever/Kerem-acc/take/leave/to school/after that/

haldır haldır.....Kapatıyorum kendimi odaya böyle- ay:
Closing-I/ myself/ to room/like this/

adam görmez oldum insan görmez oldum, ay sıkıntı
man/not see/became-I/human/not'see/became-I/ depression/

basmağa başladı, saat beş buçuğa kadar
to fall/started/ clock/to five and a half/until/

- 6 Exactly the same for me.
I've been feeling frustrated as well recently, I was just saying to you yesterday. I get up in the morning at nine or ten or whatever, take Kerem to school, then work at a furious pace I shut myself into my room like this- ay: I don't see anyone anymore I don't see any person anymore, ay I've begun to feel really down, until half past five

S: Aynen banada öyle
Same/ to me/like this/

- 7 It's just the same for me.

A: ya orda çalış ya fakültede çalış ondan sona ((etc.))
either/there/work/ or/in faculty/work/ after that/

(l a t e r)

S: Akşam yemeklerinde böyle yemekleri özledim. Akşam
Evening/in meals/ like this/dishes-acc/missed-I/Evening/

yemeklerinde her akşam fişençips her akşam
in meals/ every/evening/fish'n'chips/every/evening/

fişençips hiç şaşmıyo
fish'n'chips/none/confused/

8 I miss meals like this in the evenings. For supper every evening it's fish and chips, every evening it's fish and chips, without fail

A: Hadi::

9 Come off it!

S: Valla.

10 I swear.

A: E, yiyecek bi şey yokmu, başka bişeyler
Well then/edible/something/non-existent-Q/other/somethings/

ye, başka
eat/other/

11 Well then, isn't there anything else to eat? Eat other things, other

S: Yok yiyemiyorum başka orda yiyebileceğim
Non-existent/can't eat-I/other/there/that I can eat/

bişey yokki benim
something/non-existent-anyway/my/

12 No, I can't, there's nothing else there that I can eat.

A: Eg::-g: kadına söyle alsın özel sana yapsın.
to woman/tell/ buy/ private/to you/make/

13 Oh well, tell the woman to get something and make it especially for you.

S: Kadın-kadında yemiyorum akşam yemeğini hayatım-
in woman/not eating-I/evening/meal-acc/my life/

14 I don't eat dinner at the woman-woman's place, dear-

A: =Hayır söyle yapsın.
No/ tell/ make

15 =No, tell her to make it.

- S: Politeknikte yiyorum ben, kadın
In polytechnic/eating-I/ I/ woman/
beşbuçukta yemek yiyo yahu. Beşbuçukta
at five and a half/meal/eating/I say/At five and a half/
ben politeknikte-
I/ in polytechnic/
- 16 I eat at the polytechnic, and the woman eats
at half past five. At half past five I'm at the polytechnic.
- A: E politeknikte böyle bişey falan
Well then/in polytechnic/like this/something/so on/
yokmu?
non-existent-Q/
- 17 Well, isn't there such a place or something at the
polytechnic?
- S: Yok işte talebeler için olan yer-
Non-existent/you see/students/ for/ being/place/
- 18 No, you see, the place for students-
- A: Hayır hayır, em:
No/ no/
şoping yapılacak ufak böyle bi yer
shopping/will be done/little/like this/one place/
yokmu?
non-existent-Q/
- 19 NO, no, emm,
isn't there a little place where you can do shopping?
- S: Va::r, ama nerde pişirecem, napıcam?
Existent/but/where/will cook-I/what will do-I/
- 20 Yes, but where can I cook it, how shall I do it?
- A: Kadına sorsan mutfağı kullanabilirmiyim diye.
To woman/if ask-you/kitchen-acc/can use-I-Q/ saying/
- 21 What if you asked the woman whether you could use the
kitchen?
- S: Ha:: kullandırtmıyo kadın.
not letting use/woman/
- 22 Ah, the woman doesn't let me use it.
- A: Kullandırtmıyomu? Ha::
Not letting use-Q/
- 23 Doesn't she, I see.

- S: Kadın çok titiz kadın öyle
Woman/very/meticulous/woman/like this/
- 24 The woman is very house-conscious.
- A: Ha::
- 25 I see.
(0.5)
- A: Dün telefona çıkan omuydu?
Yesterday/telephone/opened/was her-Q/
- 26 Was it her who answered the 'phone yesterday?

EXTRACT 10

Context: N (f-57), her daughter-in-law, and her sister, S (f-52) are visiting N's friend, F (f-50) for morning coffee.

- N: Aman Namıkların evinin pencerelerinde o
Mercy/Namık and his family's/house's/in windows/ that/

pancurlardan var. Bi yağmur yağdı şakır şakır
from shutters/existent/One/rain/ rained/splash/splash/

şakır ay::: sabahı sabah yaptım (.) çok şey
splash/ morning-acc/morning/did-I/ very/thing/

oluyor
happening/
- 1 Mercy, they have these shutters on the windows of Namık's house. Then it rained, splash, splash, splash, ay:::, I was awake all night (.) They're very thingy
- F: Evet
- 2 Yes
- N: Sona gündüz güneş geliyo, bunları kapatıyorlar, ayrıca
Then/daytime/ sun/coming/ these-acc/closing-they/besides/

bana sıkıntı yapıyo. Açsalar daha- hiç şey
to me/depression/doing/ If open-they/more/none/thing/

olmuyo
not-doing/
- 3 Then, during the day the sun shines in and they close the shutters, this gives me additional distress. On the other hand, if they leave them open, it's not (good) either
(0.4)
- F: Yalnız çerçeveleri çok korur, camları-
Only/ frames-acc/ very/will protect/windows-acc/
- 4 Nevertheless, they would protect the frames very well, and the windows-
- S: Ha bu şey değilmi em- güneş, işte
this/thing/it isn't-Q/ sun/ you see/

dedilerki yani
said-they/that is/

5 Ha, this thing, you mean em- the sun, you know
what they said

N: Bak şimdi buraya fevkalade gider
Look/ now/to here/marvellous/matchés/

6 Now look, they will be perfectly alright here

F: Bizim salonda (...) var onu daha seviyorum.
Our/ in saloon/ existent/that-acc/more/liking-I/

Indiriver kaldıriver.
Just put down/just put up/

7 We have ((unintelligible)) on our sitting room windows, I
like them more, they are very easy to pull up and down.

EXTRACT 11

Context: S (f-58) is visiting her neighbour, N (f-57) and
her daughter-in-law, A (f-32).

S: Daha yemeklerde ramazanda herkes şaşırıyor. Nas:11
Even/in meals/ in Ramadan/everyone/being amazed/How/

daha masaya oturuyo her seferinde sigarasına
already/to table/sitting/every/in time/ to his cigarette/

sarılıyor. Hemen bi orucunu bozuyo o
dashing/ Immediately/one/fast-acc/breaking/that/

sigarayı alıyo, ondan sonra yemek yiyö.
cigarette-acc/taking/ that/ after/meal/ eating/

1 Even at meals in Ramadan, everyone's surprised (at him).
Imagine how, no sooner does he sit down at the table than
he lights up a cigarette, every time. As soon as he breaks
his fast, he has a cigarette, then he eats his meal.

N: E tabi: tiryakilik olunca-
Well of course/addiction/when happening/

2 Well, of course, when there is addiction-
(0.3)

A: Tiryakinin tuttuğu oruç herhalde daha makbule geçer.
Addict's/ that kept/fast/possibly/more/be appreciated/

3 Presumably, if an addict keeps the fast, it's better
received (by God).

S: .hhhh

4 .hhhh
(0.5)

A: Çamaşır makinasını yaptırdınız mı?
Washing/machine-acc/had it done-Q/

5 Have you had your washing machine mended?

(a f t e r 1 0 m i n u t e s)

((talk is about the generators which are essential to cope with the recent electric cuts))

S: Bizim alacağımız- şey benim aldığım
Our/ that will be bought/ thing/my/that has been bought/

daireye koymayı düşünüyolardı (.) ama bimilyon
to flat/to put/ were thinking-they/but/one million/

ikiyüzbinlira ediyormuş, bu son artışlarda
two hundred thousand Lira/costing/ this/last/increases/

cabası.
extra/

6 They're thinking of getting one for the flat we're buying-
well, that I've bought (.) but apparently it costs one
million, two hundred thousand Liras, and that is without
the recent price increases.
(0.4)

N: Müşterek olursa ucuz olur
Shared/ if being/cheap/will be/

7 If it is shared (by all the tenants) it will be cheap.

(a f t e r 8 m i n u t e s)

A: Çok eskidi benim fırın, dökülecek nerdeyse
Very/wore out/my/ cooker/ will tumble down/almost/

8 My cooker is very old, it's almost falling to pieces

N: Eski ama evet
Old/ but/yes/

9 It is old, yes.

A: Daha iyice bişey fırın alıcam, daha munasip
More/almost good/something/cooker/will buy-I/more/appropriate

getirecem ordan fırın getirmek istiyorum.
will bring-I/from there/cooker/to bring/wanting-I/

10 I'll buy a better cooker, a more convenient one, I'll
bring a cooker from there, I want to bring one.

N: İkinci el alma şekerim, alıcaksan iyisini
Second/hand/don't buy/my sweet/if you will buy/better-acc/
al.
buy/

11 Don't buy a second-hand cooker, dear, if you're going to
buy one, let it be a good one.

A: İşte iyisini, ikinci elin iyisini. Çünkü
That is/better-acc/second/hand's/better-acc/Because/
çok farkediyo fiyatları
very/differing/their prices/

12 Yes, a good one, a good second-hand one. Because their
prices differ a lot,

N: Ha::

13 I see

A: ikinci el makinalar hep yarı fiyatına oluyo.
second/hand/machines/ always/half/to price/being/

14 the second-hand machines are always at half price.

N: Buradada makina fiyatları bi arttık
In here-too/machine/prices-acc/one/increased-so that/
sorma.
don't ask/

15 The prices have rocketed here as well.

EXTRACT 12

Context: S (f-52) is being entertained by her two nieces,
A (f-32) and her sister, L(f-28). Peyami whose name
is mentioned in the text is S's son, Turhan
is her brother, and Selim is her husband.

S: Galiba otobüs işlemedi buraya Pazarları- Durakta
Apparently/bus/ not working/to here/on Sundays/ In stop/

bekledim epeyce=
waited-I/a lot/

1 I suppose the bus does not come here on Sundays- I waited
for a while at the bus-stop=

A: =Hayallah, keşke söyleseydim, gelmiyolar ya::
Good Lord/ if only/told-I/ not coming-they/true/

2 =Oh dear, I wish I had told you that (before) No::, it
doesn't.

(a f t e r 18 m i n u t e s)

((The current talk is on excessive heat))

S: Pencereleeri kapatmanın imkanı yok. Selim
Windows-acc/closing-gen/possibility/non-existent/Selim/

bayılacağım yahu aç diyo, ondan sona tabi
will faint-I/I say/open/saying/after that/of course/

sinekler hücum ediyö. Geceleri nasıl sivrisinek oluyo
flies/ attack/doing/ Evenings/how/ mosquitoes/ being/

nasıl sivrisinek oluyo anlatamam.
how/ mosquitoes/being/cannot tell-I/

- 3 It's impossible to keep the windows closed. Selim says 'Open them or I will suffocate'. Then of course the flies flock in. I can't tell you how many mosquitoes, how many mosquitoes we have at night.
(0.2)

A: E, şeyyapın ne derler adına, hani
Well then/do thingy/what/call-they/to its name/you know/

cibinlik falan geçirin yatağın üstüne=
mosquito-net/so on/slip on/bed's/ on top/

- 4 Well then, do the thingumbob, how do they call it, you know, make a mosquito-net or something over the bed=

S: =Geçiriyoruz genede hiç faydası yok.
Slipping on-we/again-too/none/use/ non-existent/

- 5 =We have, still, with no success.

A: Ya: (.) kötüdür biliyorum, bizde İstanbuldayken
True/ it is bad/knowing-I/ We-too/while in İstanbul/

vardı çok, ay akşamları vız vız vız tepemizde.
was existent/very/ evenings/buzz/buzz/buzz/at our above/

- 6 True (.) I know how bad it is. When we were in İstanbul, we had a lot of them too. Ay, every evening, buzz buzz buzz over our head.

(a f t e r 10 m i n u t e s)

S: Hani sen o (0.2) öküz kuyruğu diye bi çorba
Remember/you/that/ ox/ tail/ saying/one/ soup/

verdindi
gave-you/

- 7 You remember, you gave me some (0.2) oxtail soup

A: Hı::

- 8 Yes.

S: O hala duruyo bende, onu ben nasıl yapıcam?
That/still/staying/in me/ that-acc/ I/ how/ will do-I/

- 9 I've still got that, how do I make it?

A: Ah, Peyami okusun size arkasından
Peyami/let read/to you/from its back/

- 10 Ah, Peyami should read you what (the instructions) say on the back

S: Ha.

- 11 Hmm.

A: bazıları sıcak suya girer, bazıları soğuk suya.
 some/ hot/to water/go in/ some/ cold/ to water/
 hatırlamıyorum şimdi
 not remembering-I/now/

12 I don't remember now, some go in hot water and some in cold.

S: Ha iyi.

13 All right.

A: Karıştırır, hiç bişey eklemenize em şey yok,
 Stir/ none/something/to your adding/ thing/non-existent/

14 You stir it, you don't uh need to add anything,

S: Ha.

15 Hmm.

A: koyar karıştırırsınız.
 put/ stir/

16 just put it in and stir it.

(l a t e r)

((L wants to change her shift work to regular hours))

L: Bide benim bi şey durumum var hala,
 Additionally/ my/ one/thing/my situation/existent/aunt/

yine aynı gurubun içinde olduğum için bu iş dal
 again/same/group's/inside/my being/for/ this/work/branch/

budak sararsa felaket olur, onunçin
 timber-knot/if grows/disaster/will be/ therefore/

17 And then, I've got this thing, problem, aunty. As I'm in the same group again, if it becomes the object of gossip, it will be a disaster. That's why

S: O:h ben onları
 I/ those-acc/

çok iyi bilirim. Een, nedir o şeyimi
 very/well/know-I/ I/ what is/that/my thing-acc/

istediğimde, emekliliğimi istediğimde müdür
 when wanted-I/my retirement-acc/when wanted-I/director/

beyle gidip konuştum. Hoş Turhanında
 with gentleman/went and/talked-I/ Anyway/Turhan's-too/

yardımlı oldu çok o işte ya. Ay acaba
 help/ happened/very/that/in matter/anyway/ I wonder/

şöy-şöyle kabul ettiydim, oda insan bende insanım.
 like this/ accepted-I/ he-too/human/I-too/human/

Bişi söylerse bende iki laf söylerim. Böyle
One thing/if says/ I-too/two/words/will say-I/Thus/

kabullenipte odaya girdim ben.
on accepting/to room/entered/ I/

- 18 O:h, I know such things very well. I, how do you call it, when I wanted to get my thingumbob, when I wanted to get my retirement, I went to talk to the director. I must admit Turhan was very helpful, too, in solving this problem. Is it?- Well, I accepted it like this: if he is somebody, I am somebody too. If he says something (rude) I will say something twice (as rude). I accepted it as such and walked into his room.

EXTRACT 13

Context: N (m-36) and his wife, K (f-34) are receiving a visit by their friend, S (m-35) who reports his failure at the interview for an academic post. N is playing backgammon with a fourth person at the same time, and joins in the conversation only when the game allows him to do so. The son (H, m-22) of this fourth person, comes in a few minutes after S's arrival.

N: Ne var ne yok?
What/existent/what/non-existent/

1 How's everything?

S: Kafam bozuldu, telefon ettim (.) alamamışsınız.
My head/out-of-order/telephone/did-I/ could not get-we/

2 I am angry. I phoned (them) (.) Apparently we couldn't get it.

N: Yapma yahu!
Don't do/I say/

3 You don't say!

S: Eger sizin için biteselli olacaksa dediler
If/ you/ for/ one consolation/if will be/said-they/

4 'If it's going to be a consolation for you' they said

K: Ha-a?=-

5 Ye-es?=-

S: =Siz ve (.) şeyyaptığımız yani işi alan
You/and/ who we did thingy/that is/job-acc/who takes/

kişi arasında çok zo-bocaladık dediler.
person/in between/very/ struggled-we/said-they/

6 ='You and (.) the thingmebob, that is, the person who got the job' they said, 'we've found it very difficult to choose between'.

- K: Ha?
- 8 Ha?
- S: Ama maalesef en sonunda o kişiye vermeğe
But/unfortunately/most/ in end/that/to person/to give/
- 9 'But unfortunately, at the end, to give that person'
- N: Hangisi?
- 10 Which one
- S: Onların o Trinitiden olan. Kendi adamları. Bozuldum,
Their/ that/from Trinity/being/ Own/ man/ Went angry-I/
çok canım sıkılıyo.
very/my inside/squeezing/
- 11 The one who is from their- that Trinity (College). Their
own man. I'm angry. I feel terribly disappointed.
(O.1)
- K: Hayırlısı.
- 12 Let's hope for the best.
- S: Neyse
- 13 Anyway
- N: Hayırlısı yau
- 14 Let's hope for the best, my friend.
- S: HAYIR, gene atmışüç kişi arasından ikinci gelmekde
No/ still/sixty-one/people/from between/second/to come-too
bişi yani
something/that is/
- 15 NO, still, it is something to be the second best among
sixty-three people.
- N: Tabi yau
- 16 Of course, mate
- ((several turns are taken to discuss the other candidates,
after that H walks in))
- H: Na::ber? Öğrendinmi?
What news/Learnt-you-Q/
- 17 What's new? Have you learnt it?
- S: Öğrendim Hakan
Learnt-I/Hakan
- 18 I have, Hakan
- H: Nea-
- 19 What's-
- S: Kılpayı kaçmış- Kaçtı. İkinci
Hair's space/ran apparently/ran/ Second/

bozuluyo:: Bu- bu- bu başka büyük bişey Bide
getting angry/This/this/this/other/big/something/Moreover/

26 I wouldn't have been interested, well, perhaps () I would
have worked for a month or two, and then, I would have
resigned etc.- In other words, in that way, this is a
backgammon game, you know. Just like this man getting
angry when he loses a game- This- this- this is something
bigger. What's more

K: Haklısın
Right-you/

27 You are
right.

S: Bide kılpayı. Hayır benim bide şey (.) bisürü
Moreover/hair's spacē/No my/ moreover/thing/one flock/
söylemek istediğim şeyleri söyliyemediğime
to say/ that I wanted/things-acc/to not being able to say/
üzüldüm çıktıktan sona hani sordukları
was sorry-I/after coming out/you know/that were asked/
sorular. O anda adamın aklına tık tık tık tık tık
questions/That/in second/man's/ to mind/
gelmiyo yani böyle strateji olarak
not coming/that is/like this/strategy/being/

28 What's more, there's just a whisker in it. No
What's more, my, well (.) after I had got out, I was
embarrassed at the fact that, although I wanted to say
lots of things, I couldn't. Well, one cannot remember
them one after the other, as if someone is tapping, I
mean, in the manner of a strategy-

K: Tabi tabi

29 Sure, sure.

K: Boşver

30 Never mind.

S: E:::

31 E:::

(.)

K: Ama b yle bi imtihanı geçirdiğinde yanına
But/like this/one/examination-acc/your-passing-too/to your
side/

kar
profit

32 But the fact that you have had such an experience is an
advantage to you.

a couple of utterances by S on how they informed him of
the result))

- S: Maalesef çok üzülerək söylüyorum dedi
Unfortunately/very/with regret/telling-I/ said-he/
- 33 'Unfortunately, I am very sorry to tell you this' he said
- Bide şu var S... Bir ay için
Moreover/that/existent/ One/month/for/
- bile olsa aileni bırakacaktın,
even/if being/your family-acc/were going to leave/
- gidecektin uzun mesele zor
were going to go/long/matter/difficult/
- 34 But there is also this, S, you were going to
leave your family and go away, even if it was only for a
month or two it would have been a big problem, it would
have been difficult
- S: Zaten o şimdi hayır şu İrlandadaki o mesele
Anyway/that/now/ no/ that/one in Ireland/that/matter/
- kötü tecrübe oldu. Çok zor oluyo.
bad/ experience/happened/Very/difficult/being/
- 35 That, now, no, that experience in Ireland was a bad
experience. It's very difficult.
- K: Eh, tabi
- 36 Well, of course.
- ((a couple of utterances on how close the successful
candidate was to the interviewing panel))
- S: Ben e:: o kitabı çıkmak üzere olandan
I/ that/book-acc/to come out/just/from that being/
- Amsterdamdaki Amsterdam Üniversitesinde olandan
one in Amsterdam/Amsterdam/in University/from that being/
- çekiniyordum=
was afraid of-I/
- 37 I e:: was frightened of the one from Amsterdam, from the
University of Amsterdam, the one whose book was about to
be published=
- K: =Şimdi ben sana bişey söyliyem. Seninde elinde
Now/ I/ to you/something/will tell-I/your-too/in hand/
- olsa böyle bi imkanı kullanmak (.) sende
if being/like this/one/possibility-acc/to use/ you-too/
- en yakınına kullanırsın.
most/to your close/will use-you/
- 38 =Now, I'll tell you something. If you have had such an
opportunity to bestow on (somebody else) (.) you would have
used it for somebody close you you.

((a couple of utterances on what contributed to the success of the other candidate))

S: İrlandaca öğrenmiş yani
Irish/ learnt apparently/that is/

39 In other words, he had learnt Irish, apparently.

K: Ha (.) Hayırlısı. Oğlan nasıl?
Let's hope for the best/ Boy/ how/

40 Ha (.) Let's hope for the best. How is the boy?

N: Sağlık olsun Oktaycım
Health/ may be/Oktay-dear/

41 It doesn't matter, Oktay dear.

K: Kerem nasıl?
Kerem/ how/

42 How is Kerem?

S: Oğlan iyi
Boy/ well/

43 The boy is fine.

N: Sağlık olsun

44 It doesn't matter.

K: iyi
Well/

45 Good.

N: Oktaycım yorma kafanı
Oktay-dear/don't tire/your mind-acc/

46 Oktay dear, take it easy.
(1.0)

S: Abi ben bişeye el attımmı onu
Brother/I/ to something/hand/if threw-I/that-acc/

başarmalıydım, koyuyo adama.
must have succeeded-I/ putting/to man/

47 If I reach out for something, I must make a success of it,
(otherwise) it annoys one (me).

N: Oktaycım sağlık- ulan yeter be YETER ne adi
Oktay-dear/health/ I say/enough/ enough/what/inferior/

zarmış yahu
dice apparently/I say/

48 Oktay dear, it doesn't- enough ENOUGH of this, what a bloody
dice this is.

EXTRACT 14

Context: Conversation is between 4 people: N (f-57), and her daughter-in-law, A (f-32), both of whom are visiting N's friend H (f-50) whose 18 year old daughter, S, is also at home. It is almost a week after the circumcision of A's son.

N: Halide Hanım alla:şkına- işiniz varsa n'olur
Halide Hanım/to God's love/your work/if existent/please/

1 Halide Hanım, for God's sake- if you are busy, please

H: A: yok
non-existent

canım yok oturuyoduk ö::le
dear/non-existent/wèrè'sitting-we/like that/

2 A: no
my dear, no, we were sitting just like that.

(a f t e r 10 m i n u t e s)

H: Saati kurduk biz üçte kalktık, ondan so:na
Clock-acc/wound up/we/at three/got up-we/after that/

uyyamadım tabi:
could not sleep-I/of course/

3 We set the alarm clock, we got up at three o'clock. I could not go back to sleep after that, of course.
(0.2)

N: Bünye alışık olmayınca-
Body mechanism/familiar/when not being/

4 When the body is not accustomed to it-

H: Altıda Sıtkı yola çıktı, ondan sonra yattım
At six/Sıtkı/to way/went out/after that/ lay down-I/

5 At six Sıtkı set off, then I went to bed.

N: Nereye gitti Sıtkı Bey?
Where/ went/ Sıtkı Bey/

6 Where did Sıtkı Bey go?

H: Bigaya gitti.
To Biga/went/

7 He went to Biga.

N: Allah kavuştursun.
God/ may unite/

8 May God reunite.

H: Teşekkür ederim, sagolun.

9 Thank you, thanks.

((several turns are taken on how N has lost weight as a result of a strict diet))

H: Ben yapamıyorum. Birazda benim hormonal diyorum.
I/ unable doing-I/Little/ my/ to do with hormones/saying-I/

Ben regli (.) den kesilmem falan rol oynadı
I/ period/ from/my stopping/so on/role/played/

10 I cannot do it. I say, mine is partly due to hormonal changes

N:

H1:

11

Hmm.

H:

Yani
That is/

kilomda.
in my kilo/

12

I- my
periods (.) ending and things like that have affected it.
My weight, I mean.

N:

Hm

13

Hm

S: Birde romatizma iğneleri vurulmuştum.
Moreover/rheumatism/injections/was hit-I/

Onların tesiriyle ben birden kilo aldım ve
Their/ with effect/I/ suddenly/kilo/took-I/and/

veremiyorum. Veremem heralde bilemiyorum
not able giving-I/ Cannot give-I/possibly/not able knowing-I/

ama veremem, sanmıyorum.
but/cannot give-I/not expecting-I/

14

Also I had had the rheumatic injections. Because
of all these I suddenly put on weight and can't get rid of
it. I can't, I suppose, I don't know but I don't think that
I can lose it.

N:

Bu şekilde iyi kilo veriliyo Halide Hanım. Bana
This/ in form/well/kilo/being given/Halide Hanım/To me/

mısırözü yağı, ayçiçeği yağı, işte onları
corn-extract/oil/ sun-flower/ oil/ you see/those-acc/

şeyyaptılar
did thing-they/

15

In this way, one loses weight easily Halide Hanım. To me
they, corn-oil, sun-flower oil, well, they kind of
recommended these

S:

Eve::t

16

I see

- N: Valla benim diyetimi seyyaparsanız hemen
Really/ my/ diet-acc/will do thingy-you/immediately/
erirsiniz.
will melt-you/
- 17 believe me, if you kind of do my diet, you will immediately
shed (your excessive weight).

((after about 15 minutes, N's recently circumcised grand-
son becomes the subject of the talk))
- N: Çocuk bayağı sarsıldı vallahi. O kadar neşeliydiki
Child/seriously/shook/ I swear/That/much/was happy-he/
- 18 The child has been shaken (by circumcision). He had been
such a lively boy (until then)
- H: Sıcağa geldi, belki ondandır. Sünnetçi ne diyor?
To heat/came/ perhaps/from that/Circumciser/what/saying/
- 19 It coincided with the hot weather. Perhaps that's the
reason. What does the circumciser say?
- A: Valla sünnetçi (O.1) işte Pazar günü en son gördük,
Really/circumciser/ you see/Sunday/day/most/end/saw-we/
ondan sonra görmedik. Son Pazar günü geldi, sargı
after that/did not see-we/End/Sunday/day/came-he/wrapper/
bezini aldı krem sürdü (.) iyileşecek dedi
cloth-acc/took-he/cream/applied-he/will recover/said-he/
Yani normal seyrini takibediyo dedi.
That is/normal/its course/following/ said-he/
- 20 Really, the circumciser (O.1) well, we last saw him on
Sunday, we haven't seen him since. He came on Sunday for
the last time, removed the bandages, put on some medical
cream (.) he said that the whole thing was taking its
normal course.
- S: Acıttıyomu acaba.
Hurting-Q/I wonder/
- 21 Does it hurt, I wonder.
- A: İşte zaman zaman, ilacını almazsa ağrısı
You see/time to time/his medicine-acc/if not take/his pain/
ortaya çıkıyo
to surface/coming up/
- 22 Well, on occasions when he doesn't get his medication, the
pain starts again.
- S: Halbuki çok küçük bıpırca kesiliyo diğmi? Öyle
But/ very/small/one part/being cut/not-Q/Like that/

derin bir operasyon falan değil.
 deep/ one/operation/so on/ not/

23 But, it is only a tiny bit that has been cut off, isn't it, I mean, it's not a serious operation or something.

A: Derin değil ama düşünün yani bişey olsa-
 Deep/ not/ but/ think/that is/one thing/if happens/
 elinizde bi sıyrık olsa o nasıl acıtır.
 in your hand/one/scratch/if happens/that/ how/will hurt/

Bu makasla kesilmiş bişey.
 This/with scissors/cut apparently/something/

24 No, it hasn't been cut deep, but I mean, think how bitterly it would hurt if you had even a scratch on your hand. This after all, has been cut by scissors.
 (0.1)

H: Tabitabi germe yapıyor. Çok haklı tabi.
 Of course of course/stretching/ doing/ Very/right/of course/

25 Of course, of course, it gets stretched. He's right, of course.

A: Biraz apse durumuda oldu galiba etrafında=
 Little/abscess/situation-too/happened/possibly/around it/

26 I think, there has been an abscess formed around it too=

H: =Evet, evet. O kabuk sökülebilse.
 Yes/ yes/ That/scab/ if can be uprooted/

27 =Yes, yes, if (only) that skin could be broken quickly.

((after a couple of utterances on the scab))

A: Yatıyo şimdi, biraz yat dinlen dedik hmmm.
 Lying down/ now/ little/lie down/ rest/said-we/

28 He's lying down now, we said 'lie down and rest a bit', hmmm.
 (0.5)

N: Zor (0.1) çocukların bu geçidi.
 Difficult/ children's/this/passage/

29 It's hard (0.1) for children to go through this stage.
 (0.4)

H: Hanımların daha zor, erkeklerin bi sünneti
 Ladies'/ more/difficult/ men's/ one/circumcision/

var
 existent/

30 It's harder for women, men have only one circumcision

N: Ah öyle tabi
 thus/of course/

31 Oh, yes, of course.
 (0.2)

- H: Hanımlar her sefer doğum yapıyo, sonra unutuluyo
Ladies/ every/time/ birth/doing/ after/being forgotten/
bi daha yapılıyo.
one/more/being done/
- 32 Women give birth every time, then it's forgotten, then they give birth again.
- A: Ya:
- 33 That's true.
- N: Örtüde örtemiyoruz Halide Hanım. Böyle açık
Cover-too/unable-putting-we/Halide Hanım/Like this/open/
üşürde diyorum. Yani (.) vallahi ne garip
will feel cold-too/saying-I/That is/ really/what/strange/
oluyo. Açık herşeyi
being/ Open/his everything/
- 34 We can't cover it either, Halide Hanım. Open like this, he'll catch cold, I say. Well (.) really, how odd it is. He's open all over.
- H: Gece böyle bi mukavva kutu kapatırlardı
Night/like this/one/cardboard/box/ used to cover-they/
- 35 They used to cover it with a cardboard box.
- A: İşte benimde şeyim (.) telaşım, hani kapatsak
You see/ my-too/my thing/ anxiety/ you know/if cover-we/
yana dönecek o mukavva kutu oynamasıylan
to side/will turn/that/cardboard/box/ with its moving/
bu sefer daha sürtünme durumu falan olursa daha
this/ time/more/friction/situation/so on/if will be/more/
acımak (.) olur diye
to hurt/ will be/saying/
- 36 Well, my whatsit (.) worry is that, I mean, if we cover it, he will turn to one side, and the box moving like that, will rub against it, and so on, it will hurt more (.) that's it.
- H: Evet evet haklısınız.
Yes/ yes/ right-you/
- 37 Yes, yes, you're right.
(0.4)
- N: .hhh Çocuklu sünnetli bilmem neli
With child/with circumcised one/don't know/with what/
geldik Halide Hanımın evine
came-we/Halide Hanım's/house/
- 38 .hhh we came to Halide Hanım's house with a child who's circumcised, with another child who's not circumcised, with this and that

- H: A:: aşkolsun
 39 A::, I'm offended (by that)
- N: Vallahi hemde nasıl
 Really/ additionally/ how/
 40 I'm serious, this is the case
- H: Yok aman ben
 Non-existent/mercy/I/
 çok memnun oldum
 verry/contended/became-I/
 41 No, come on, I'm so
 delighted (that you could come).
 (a f t e r 23 m i n u t e s)
- N: Çalıştı çabaladı işte doktora maktora yaptı
 Worked-he/struggled-he/you see/Ph.D./ REDUP. did-he/
 ama cebinde parası yok.
 but/in his pocket/ money/non-existent/
 42 He struggled, and worked hard too, you see, he did a
 doctorate and whatever, but there's no money in his
 pocket.
 (0.2)
- S: Para o kadar önemli değilki.
 Money/that/much/ important/not-anyway/
 43 Money is not that important.
- N: Olduğu yerlerde var.
 That being/places-too/existent/
 44 There are instances where it is important.

EXTRACT 15

Context: M (f-45) and S (f-50) are talking in S's house and in the presence of her mother who is a senile lady with hearing difficulties. M's cousin N (f-57) and her daughter-in-law, A (f-32) are also present.

- M: Sağlığı iyi maşallah.
 Her health/well/praise God/
 1 Her health is in good shape, praise God.
- S: Kimin (.) Anneminmi?
 Whose/ my mother's-Q/
 2 Whose (.) My mother's?
- M: Evet.
 3 Yes.

- S: Şimdi, annem
4 Now, my mother
- M: Sanki kilo aldı
As if/kilo/took
- 5 It looks as if she's put on some weight
- S: İşte morali iyi değil.
You see/morale/good/ not/
- 6 The thing is, she's depressed.
- M: Şişmanladı bu ara heralde.
Put on weight/this/interval/possibly/
- 7 She's possibly gained some weight recently.
- S: Öyle de, sıkılıyo, biyere çıkamıyo,
Thus-but/getting bored/to one place/not able to going out/
onunla konuşacak (.) kafada kimsede yok.
with her/ to talk/ head-too/in none/non-existent/
Sıkıldığı için HASTALANIyo yani
Her getting bored/for/ getting ill/that is/
- 8 It may well be so but, she's bored. She can't go out,
no one is in the state of mind (.) to talk to her either.
Because she's bored, she gets ILL, you know
- M: Tabi
- 9 Of course
- S: Hastalanıyo
Getting ill/
- 10 She gets ill.
- M: Kerem nasıl, sıkılıyorum diyo .hhh
Kerem/how/ getting bored-I/saying/
- 11 Remember how Kerem says 'I'm bored' .hhh
- S: Hahh hahh ha:
- 12 Hahh hahh ha:
- M: Melahat Teyze sıkılıyorum diyo. Hani oraya
Melahat Aunty/getting-bored-I/saying/You know/to there/
giriyo oraya giriyo en-çocuk yapcak bişi
entering/to there/entering/ child/ to do/something/
bulamıyor. Nnn ben namaz kılacaktım, kapıyı
not able finding/ I/ was going to do praying-I/door-acc/
kitledim. Aa:- aç aç (.) ben görmek istiyorum, ha, ha.
locked-I/ open/open/ I/to see/wanting-I/

Arzuya gitmiş beni şikayet etmiş
To Arzu/went apparently/I-acc/complaint/made apparently/

Arzu geldi ((etc.))
Arzu/came/

- 13 He says 'Melahat Aunt, I'm bored'. He goes in here, he goes in there, the poor child can't find anything to do. Nnn I was going to do my daily praying. I locked the door. Aa:- 'open it, open it, I want to see too', ha, ha. He went to Arzu and complained about me. (Then) Arzu came ((etc.))

((a couple of turns are taken to complete the story, then))

M: Kerem iyimi?
Kerem/well-Q/

- 14 Is Kerem alright?

A: Daha iyi, çok, yani, tam düzelmedi ama gittikçe
More/well/very/that is/whole/did not recover/but/gradually/
iyileşiyο
getting better/

- 15 He's better, very, I mean he's not completely well, but he's gradually getting better.
(.)

M: İyi(.) dün bize Lale geldi ((etc.))
Good/ yesterday/to us/Lale/came

- 16 Good (.) Lale came to us yesterday ((etc.))

EXTRACT 16

Context: K (f-59) is visiting a distant relative, I (f-60) whose sister died two months prior to the conversation

I: Bakarsın tamamdır demiş, bakarsın
Will look-you/alright-it is/said apparently/will look-you/

bir iki ay bitkisel hayat yaşar. Allah öylede
one/two/month/plant-like/life/will live/God/ thus/

yaşatmasın. Mümkünse. Yaylada yine
may not let live/If possible/ High plateau/again/

rahatsızlanınca (.)
when taken ill/

- 1 'On occasions it is alright (the doctor) said, 'on other occasions, one leads a vegetable existence for a couple of months.' May God not let one live like that, if possible. When she got ill again (.)

K: Ya:: başınız sağolsun. Duydukda çok üzüldük.
may your head be alive/Heard-we-then/very/got sorry-we/

- 2 Yes, may your head be alive. We heard of and are saddened by it.

EXTRACT 17

Context: K (f-34) and H (f-42) are in a combined activity of talking and sewing in the house they rent temporarily, while their husbands are playing cards.

K: Ayol, gözüm görmüyo katiyyen iyneyi (.)
I say/my eye/not seeing/on no account/needle-acc/

Hiç görmüyorum ha.
None at all/ not seeing-I/

1 I can't see the needle at all (.) I can't, you know.
(0.2)

H: Rasgele!

2 May you hit the mark!

K: Rasgele. (0.5) Bunun yanında bide ((jarse?))
Meet by chance/ Of this/next to it/moreover/jersey/

eteklik aldık.
skirt/ bought-we/

3 May I hit the mark. (0.5) Apart from this we also bought a (jersey) skirt.

EXTRACT 18

Context: There are 5 participants in this encounter. A (f-35) and her husband S (m-35) are entertaining their brother-and-sister friends (U, m-32; and B, f-28), as well as the couple's mother, N (f-50) who is visiting her children. U is a research student while B is on a one-year-post-graduate-course at the same university. K (m-5) is the son of A and S.

A: Ne zamandır istiyordum Hollandaya gitmek. Nehi::ç
What/long time/was wanting-I/to Holland/to go/What none/

bütün ıstır için yerler em tamamen dolu.
whole/Easter/for/ places/ completely/full/

1 I had been wanting to go to Holland for a long time. But there was nothing, for the whole Easter holiday every place was em completely full.

U: Dolu. Şeyde dolu, uçakda dolu=
Full/Thing-too full/plane-too/full/

2 Full. The thingy was full too, the plane was fully booked too=

A: =Uçakda dolu
Plane-too/full/

3 =The plane too

U: Sı:linkde dolu
Sealink-too/full/

3 And the Sealink

- A: Ha-a
- 4 Uhm.
(O.2)
- U: Fakat Avrupadada bayağı soğukmuş hava
But/ in Europe-too/considerably/cold apparently/weather/
esasinda.
in fact/
- 5 But apparently it's been quite cold in Europe recently.
- A: Hm:::
- 6 Hm:::
- K: ((to the guest)) Bak ne yaptım kendim
Look/what/did-I/myself/
- 6 Look what I did myself.
- A: Lütfen kusura bakmayın. Türkçeyi yeni öğrendiği
Please/to fault/don't look/ Turkish-acc/new/ learnt/
için sen'i biliyor ama siz'i beceremiyo
for/ you-acc/knowning/but/you(plural)-acc/not being able to
manage/
daha
yet/
- 7 Please don't be offended. As he has started learning
Turkish recently, he can only manage 'tu' but not 'vous'
yet.
- U: Hahh hah:::
- 8 Hahh hah:::
(a f t e r 8 m i n u t e s)
- S: Türkiyede hala kahve kıtlığı varmı?
In Turkey/still/coffee/famine/existent-Q/
- 9 Is there still a shortage of coffee in Turkey?
- N: Karaborsada bulunuyor (.) BINBEŞYÜZ
In black market/is being found/One thousand five hundred/
Liraya
to Lira/
- 10 It can be found on the black market (.) For ONE THOUSAND
FIVE HUNDRED Liras.
- S: Burada Türk kahvesi var biliyorsunuz
Here/ Turkish coffee existent/knowning-you/
- 11 You know that there is Turkish coffee here.

- N: Var evet, giderken götürecez biraz
Existent/yes/ while going/will take-we/little/
- 12 There is, we'll buy, we'll take some with us on our
way back.

(a f t e r 15 m i n u t e s)
- B: Ben o kadar ödev yaptım, yani öbürleri (.)
I/ that/ much/homework/did-I/ that is/ others/

öbür talebeler valla:: ödev yapmayı ta: Ocakta
other/ students/really/homework/to do/ in January/

bıraktılar, artık kimse bişey yazmıyo. Yannız
left-they/ anymore/person/something/not writing/ Only/

ben ne verdiyse yaptım, daha geçen haftaya kadar
I/ what/ gave/ did-I/ only/ past/ to week/until/

götürdüm verdim.
took-I/ gave-I/
- 13 I did so much homework, I mean, the rest (.) the other
students we::ll they stopped writing any homework back in
January, nobody has written anything since then, and only
I did whatever she asked for, and gave it to her right
up to the last week.
- A: Ama Binnur yani bu iş imtianla bitmiyo
But/Binnur/that is/this/matter/with examination/not ending/

biliyosun. Yarın birgün mesela bi yerde
knowing-you/Tomorrow/one day/for example/one/in place/

işe müraca:t edicen ve bu kadını
to work/application/will do-you/and/this/woman-acc/

referans olarak vericen, eh tabi:: onunda
reference/being/ will give-you/ of course/ her-too/

söylifycekleri ona göre olur.
things to say/to that/according/will be/
- 14 But Binnur, I mean, you know that this doesn't end with the
exam. Tomorrow or some day you will apply for a job
somewhere, and will name this woman as a referee, for
instance, and of course, what she says then will be according.
- B: İnşallah.
- 15 I guess so.

EXTRACT 19

Context: O (m-32) and his wife A (f-32) are talking to a couple,
E (m-40) and N (f-40) whose son is causing them a
problem. The location is the house of O's parents.

N: Çok akıllı ama .) Nasıl diyeyim
Very clever but How sill say-I/

- 1 He's very clever but (.) How can I define it
- A: Maşallah
- 2 Wonderful
- A: Hareketli?
- 3 Active?
- N: Haylaz.
- 4 Irresponsible.
- A: Haylaz?
- 5 Irresponsible?
- O: N'olacak, bizde öyleydik.
What will happen/we-too/as such-were-we/
- 6 So what, we all were like that.
(a f t e r 5 m i n u t e s)
- O: Madem oğlan çocuğu, okumasınıda istiyosunuz=
If/ boy/ child/ his reading-too/wanting-you/
- 7 Given that it is a boy, and you want him to be educated=
- E: =İstiyoruz
Wanting-we/
- 8 =We do.
- O: Evde- yani ben derimki; ben hatta bahçeli bi
In house/that is/ I/ say so/ I/ even/with garden/one/
ev bulun, bi ev filan, yani şey olarak, o
house/find/ one/house/so on/ that is/thing/being/ that/
fedakarlık kabilinden falan, yani çocuğu
self-sacrifice/on the lines of/so on/that is/child-acc/
tatmin etmek için- yani bak okulun bitmesine
satisfied/to make/for/ that is/look/school's/to finishing/
yirmi gün kala bırakmış.
twenty/day/remaining/left apparently/
- 9 In the house- that is, I would say, I, even find a house
with a garden, a house or something, that is, in the
manner of the thing, that self-sacrifice or something, that
is, to satisfy the child- that is, look, he has dropped
out of school or whatever twenty days before (graduation).
- E: Nasıl öderim ben öyle evin kirasını, yau?
How/ will pay/ I/ thus/house's/rent-acc/mate/
- 10 How can I pay the rent of such a house, my friend?
(a f t e r 6 m i n u t e s)

- E: Güvercinlere karşı mutlaka bişi var
To pigeons/ against/definitely/something/existent/
bunda
in him/
- 11 He must have something against the pigeons.
- O: Yok canım aşırı düşkünlük, yok YOK
Non-existent/my dear/excessive/fondness/non-existent/
hasta hasta falan deil.
ill/ REDUP/so on/not/
- 12 No, it's over-affection, no, no, he isn't sick or anything.
- E: Valla bilmem.
Really/don't know-I/
- 13 Well, I don't know.
- O: Bizim bizim oğlanda hayvanlara çok düşkündür. İngilteredeki
Our/ our/ boy-too/to animals/very/ fond of/in England/
bütün çocuklar bütün çocuklar hayvanlara düşkündür.
all/ children/all/ children/to animals/ fond of/
- 14 Our our boy, too, is extremely fond of animals. Every child, every child in England is fond of animals.

EXTRACT 20

Context: A (f-38) and her husband are entertaining E (m-50) who lectured them during their undergraduate years. At the time of the conversation, E is playing backgammon with A's husband, while she is watching the game.

- A: Şu köşedekini girseydiniz
That/one in corner/should have moved-you/
- 1 You should have moved that piece in.
- E: Öyle ya (.) İşte yapmış bulunduk
Thus/true/ You see/did apparently/were found-we
- 2 That's true (.) Well, what's done is done.
- A: Bende bu işi bildiğimden değil ya
I-too/this/business/from my knowing/not that/
- 3 Not that I know this (game) well enough.
- E: Genede benden daha iyi biliyosundur.
Still/ from I more/well knowing-you-must/
- 4 Surely, you know it better than I do.

A: Yok nerde::: hocam Ben böyle saya
Non-existent/where/ my teacher/ I/like that/counting/
saya giderim.
counting/go-I/

5 Never, Sir. I move (the pieces along) by counting my steps.

E: Bende öyle ama belli etmemeğe çalışıyorum ayıp
I-too/thus/but/obvious/not to make/trying-I/ disgrace/
olmasın diye.
not to be/saying/

6 I do too, but as it is embarrassing, I'm trying to hide it.

A: Hah: hah: ha.

7 Hah: Hah: ha.

EXTRACT 21

Context: A (f-35) and her husband, O (m-35), are at home.

A: Bunu nasıl okursun?
This-acc/ how/will read-you/

1 How would you read this?

O: Zaylofon. Bu eks okunmaz, kelimenin başına gelirse
Xylophone/This/ X/ not read/word's/ to head/if comes/
okunmaz.
not read/

2 Xylophone.This 'x' is not pronounced, if it comes at the
beginning of a word, it is not pronounced.

A: Biliyorum.
Knowing-I/

3 I know that.

O: Biliyosan ne soruyosun?
If knowing/what/asking-you/

4 If you know it, then why do you ask?

A: Hayır (.) bakalım sen biliyomusun diyehh hehh hehh (.hhh)
No/ Let's see/you/knowning-you-Q/saying/

5 No (.) to see whether you know it too hehh hehh (.hhh)

EXTRACT 22

Context: R (m-30) and A (m-40) who know one another fairly well,
are talking in someone else's house.

R: Süper benzin bulabiliyomusunuz
Super/ oil/ able to find-Q-you/

1 Can you find super oil?

A: Süper yok kardeşim.
Super/non-existent/my brother/

2 There's no super oil, my friend.

R: A:: o fena haber. Bizim kayınpeder gelecekte
that/bad/ news/ Our/ father-in-law/will come-that's
why/
cumartesi günü.
Saturday/ day/

3 Oh, that's bad news. (The reason why I'm asking this is that) My father-in-law is coming on Saturday.

A: Bulunurda aramak lazım.
Can be found/searching/necessary/

4 It can be found but one has to look for it.

EXTRACT 23

Context: H (m-50) and his wife, T (f-50) are entertaining
H's nephew, O (m-32). Semih is the couple's son.

O: Bizde bitürlü gelemedik, orda ö::le-
We-too/somehow/could not come-we/there/like that/

1 And somehow we couldn't manage to come back, (staying)
there and-

T: E tabi. Şimdi sizinki- em- yatırım yapıyorsunuz
Well, of course/ Now/ yours/ investment/doing-you/
siz şimdi, yarın falan gelince bu yatırımları
you/ now/ tomorrow/so on/on coming/this/investments-acc/
kullanacaksınız dimi ya?
will use-you/ not-Q/

2 Well, of course. Now yours- em- you are investing now,
when you come back some day, you will use these investments,
won't you?

O: Öyle tabi
Thus/of course/

3 We will, of course.

(a f t e r 12 m i n u t e s)

T: Semih tatilde gelirim dediydi bak hala sesi
Semih/in holiday/will come-I/said/ look/still/his voice/
sedası çıkmıyor.
his echo/not coming out/

4 Semih had said 'I will come during the holiday' (but) look,
there's still no news from him.

- (0.5)
H: Bekleyen derviş muradına ermiş.
One who waits/dervish/to his desire/reached apparently/
5 The dervish who had known how to wait was eventually rewarded with his heart's desire.
T: Geleceğini bilsem beklemek birşey değil.
His coming-acc/if know-I/to wait/something/not/
6 Waiting I can take if I know that he's coming.

EXTRACT 24

Context: G (f-50) is N's (f-57) house-help. The talk is about the pain in G's wrist.

- G: Ağrıyo, dün doktora onunçin gittik. Ağrıyoda
Hurting/yesterday/to doctor/for that/went-we/Hurting so/
böle doğrudürüst açılmıyo.
like that/properly/ not opening/
1 It hurts, we went to the doctor yesterday because of it.
It hurts and it won't bend properly.
N: E şey, bide fakülteye gitsen?
Well then/additionally/to faculty/if go-Q/
2 Well then, what if you went to the faculty(hospital) as well?
G: Ben işçi Sigortalarına kayıtlıyım.
I/ Worker's/ Insurance/ registered-I/
3 I am registered at the Social Services.

EXTRACT 25

Context: S (m-35) is hosting a student, K (m-25) who is about to embark on a research programme.

- S: Eğer bu kadar hassas bir konuyla, şimdi, oradaki
If/this/much/delicate/one/if subject/ now/ones (which are) there/
kaynaklardanda kullanmak istiyorsan=
from sources-too/ to use/ if wanting-you/
1 If it's such a sensitive subject, now, you want to make use of the sources there as well=
K: =Evet
2 =Yes
S: Kemal, hañi bana şey yaparsan, sorarsan, bunu
Kemal/you know/to me/if do thingy-you/if ask-you/this-acc/
sen bi digri: olarak yapma.
you/one/degree/being/don't do/

- 3 Kemal, I mean, if you were to do the thingumbob, ask me, don't do this as a degree.

K: O kafamda var zaten.
That/in my head/existent/anyway.

- 4 I have already got that in my mind, anyway.

EXTRACT 26

Context: N (f-57) and her husband, L (m-60) are having a relative of N, S (f-40) for afternoon tea. The talk is presently on S's son who failed in the university entrance examination.

N: Akademiye falan girer heralde
To Academy/so on/will enter/possibly/

- 1 He might get into the Academy or whatever.

S: Yok oraya olmaz=
Non-existent/to there/will not be/

- 2 Not there=

N: =Giremezmi?
Will not enter-Q/

- 3 =Won't he?

S: Oraya dört yüzün üstünde alıyorlarmış
To there/four hundred's/on top/ accepting-they apparently/

- 4 Apparently they only take people with more than 400 points.

N: A::, iner puanı iner, girer.
will go down/points/will go down/will go in/

- 5 Ah, the level might go down, it will go down and he'll get in.
(0.9)

S: Yani şimdiye kadar okulda çok iyiydi. Ama bu
I mean/to now/ until/in school/very/was good/But/this/

sene nedense- şimdiye kadar hiç ikmale
year/for whatever reason/to now/ until/none/examination
repeat/

falan kalmadı. Bu sene öyle fazla gayret
so on/did not stay/This/year/like that/excessive/effort/

göstermedi.
did not show/

- 6 I mean up to now he's been very good at school. But now this year, for some reason or other, up to now he's never had to retake exams or anything. This year he didn't take things seriously enough.
(0.2)

- N: Tabi yaşta-
Of course/age-too/
- 7 Of course, the age too-
- L: Yaşında etkisi olur.
Of age-too/effect/will be/

The age too has an effect.
- S: Biz o kadar üstüne düştük, bak oğlum bu
We/that/much/ over him/cared for-we/look/my son/this/

sene son senen hani biraz gayret etsen
year/last/your year/you know/little/effort/if make-you/
- 8 We really did our best for him, 'Look son,' we said,
'this is your last year', I mean, 'you should make some
effort'
- N: Eh gene
still/

puvanı fena değil canım iyi ya.
his point/bad/ not/ dear/good/that is/
- 9 Oh, but his
number of points is not bad, I mean, it's quite good.
- S: İnşallah. Bakalım hayırlısı diyoruz
God willing/Let's see/Let's hope for the best/saying-we/

napalım?
what shall do-we/
- 10 I hope so. Well, we'll see, we say to ourselves, 'Let's
hope for the best', what else can we do?
- N: Valla arkadaş çok önemli, çevre- ((etc.))
Really/ friend/very/important/social circle/
- 11 Friends and the social circle are extremely important-
((etc.))

EXTRACT 27

Context: R (m-29) who has recently been to his parents' house in Cyprus, is telling his friend A (f-32) and her mother, B (f-55) of his latest impression of the island.

- R: Bizim ailedede nedense ilk çocuk hep kız
Our/ in family/for some reason/first/child/always/girl/

olur.
happens/
- 1 In our family, for some peculiar reason, the first child
is always a girl.

- B: Eh, fenamı? Bundan sonrakilere bakarlar,
bad-Q/ To those after this/will look after-they/
ablalık ederler.
sistership/will do-they/
- 2 Well, is that bad? They can look after the ones to follow,
and act as big sisters.
- R: Yok, bida:: çocuk yapacaklarını zannetmem.
Non-existent/once more/child/their doing-acc/don't think-I/
- 3 No, I don't think they will have another child.
- B: Niye?
- 4 Why?
- R: Valla bilmem.
Really/do not know-I/
- 5 Well, I don't know.
- B: Hm::::
- 6 Hm::::
(O.2)
- B: S...in dedesinide gördünmü?
S...'s/ grandfather-too/saw-you-Q/
- 7 Have you seen S's grandfather as well?

(l a t e r)
- R: Sanki hiç politik düzen yok gibi. Hani
As if/none/political/order/non-existent/like/You remember/

Rusyadaki baskıdan konuşuyodukya
one in Russia/from oppression/were talking-we-remember/

bizde aynı şartlarda yaşadığımızdan artık
we-too/same/in conditions/from our living/anymore/

aldırmamağa başlıyosun, hihh hihh hihh.
to not caring/starting-you/
- 8 It seemed as if there wasn't a political order at all.
We were just talking about the oppression in Russia,
remember, because we are living in similar conditions
(in Cyprus) one finally gets to a point of indifference,
hihh, hihh, hihh.
- A: Ama şimdi gene iyisiniz. Yunan zamanını hatırlasana
But/ now/ still/well-you/ Greek/ time-acc/just remember/
- 9 But still you're better off now, just remember (what
happened) when the Greeks were in power.

EXTRACT 28

Context: H (male-30) and A (male-34), both academicians, are discussing the plight of the higher educational establishments, in A's house.

- H: Neyse, iş başından başlıyor, yani bir
 Anyway / business/from start/starting/ that is/one/
 asistan aldılarmıydı onu usta çırak
 assistant/when-took-they/hé-acc/master/apprentice/
 durumuna itiyolar
 to situation/pushing-they/
- 1 Anyway, it starts from the beginning, I mean, when they take an assistant (into the Academy) they force him into a master-apprentice relationship.
- A: Evet, lonca sistemi büyük ölçüde
 Yes/ guild/system/ big/ in measurement/
- 2 Yes, the methods of the guild system are to a large extent
- H: Lonca sistemi gibi.
 Guild/system/ like/
- 3 Like the guild system.
- A: Genede akademiler yeni kuruluşlar. Üniversitelerde
 Still/ academies/ new/establishments/ In universities/
 falan durum daha kötü. Onlar büsbütün değişik
 so on/situation/more/bad/ They/ completely/different/
- 4 Still, the academies are new establishments. The situation in the universities and so on is worse. They are completely different
- H: Evet
- 5 Yes.
- A: Bir arkadaşım var, ceza hukukunda doktora
 One/my friend/existent/punishment/in Law/ Ph.D./
 yapıyor. Valla:: yanılmıyosam, onbir oniki
 doing/ Really/ if not being mistaken-I/eleven/twelve/
 sene oldu hala profesörünün kararını bekliyo.
 year/happened/still/her professor's/decision-acc/waiting/
- 6 I have a friend, she is doing research in Criminal Law, Well::, if I'm not mistaken it's been eleven twelve years and she's still waiting for her professor's consent on it.
- H: Ne
 What/
 doktorasını almak içinmi?
 doctorate-acc/to take/for-Q/

- 7 To get
her PhD degree?
- A: Doktorasını almak için. S.P.'nin asistanı. Çok
doctorate-acc/to take/for/ S.P.'s/ assistant/ Very/
(.) huysuz, aksi bi adam=
petulant/adverse/one/man/
- 8 To get her PhD degree. She is the assistant to S.P.
A very (.) uncooperative, unsociable man he is=
- H: =Yañi danışmanı aynı zamanda egzaminırımı?
That is/her supervisor/same/in time/her examiner-Q/
- 9 =You mean her supervising professor is also her examiner?
- A: Şimdi, şöyle ((etc.))
Now/ like this/
- 10 Now, it's like this ((etc.))

EXTRACT 29

- Context: A (f-32) is hearing from M (hostess-50) about the night when M's daughter, Feride, gave birth to a baby-boy. H (i.e. Hayriye Hanım, f-50) is Feride's mother-in-law, and Erdiñç's (father of the baby) mother. Bülent, one of the referents in the talk, is Feride's younger brother. Interest hovers around the baby a lot, although other subjects creep into the talk occasionally.
- M: Feridenin sancısı başladı. Yanlıız. Gece. Oturuyoruz
Feride's/ labour/ started/ Alone-we/ Night/Sitting-we/
napalım ? ne:delim ? Bülentten başka
what-will do-we/what-will make-we/other than Bülent/
erkeğimiz yok hehh, hehh, he:, Hayriye Hanımın ailesi
our man/ non-existent/ Hayriye Hanım's/family/
bilmiyo, Erdiñç bilmiyo
not knowing/Erdiñç/not knowing/
- 1 Feride's labour pains started. All alone. At night.
We were sitting here. 'What should we do? What should we do?' (we were saying to ourselves). We didn't have a single man here apart from Bülent, hehh, hehh, he:, Hayriye Hanım and her family didn't know about it, Erdiñç didn't know about it.
- H: Daha yirmi gün vardı
Still/twenty/day/was existent/
günleri sayıyorduk, daha yirmi gün var diyoduk.
days-acc/counting-we/ still/twenty/day/existent/saying-we/
Oğlan erken geldi, babası gibi.
Boy/ early/came/ his father/like/

There were still twenty days more to go, we were counting the days and saying 'there are 20 more days'. The boy arrived twenty days earlier than expected, just like his father had done.
(O.3)

A: Ama çok kolay doğum olmuş galiba.
But/very/easy/ birth/happened-~~apparently/apparently/~~

3 But apparently it was a very easy birth.

M: Oh:: öyle, şükürler olsun.
thus/ thanks/ may it be/

4 Oh:: it was, thank goodness.

(a f t e r 15 m i n u t e s)

S: Seneler okada::r çabuk geçiyoki yavrum anlamıyosun
Years/ that much/quickly/passing-so/my child/not understand-
ing-you/

5 The years go so fast my child that you just can't
understand it
(.)

A: Ya:

6 Ya:

H: Güzel günler çok çabuk geçiyö (.) Uzakta
 Beautiful/ days/ very/quickly/passing/ In distance/

 olunca özlüyösun evlatlarını
 when being/missing-you/your children-acc/

7 Happy days pass very quickly (.) When you're away you
see you miss your children
(.)

A: Ama oda iyi, aynı yerde olmamak yani=
But/that-too/good/same/in place/not to be/that is/

8 But that's good as well, not being in the same place that
is=

H: =Tabi tabi

9 =Of course of course

A: Anneye babaya değişiklik.
To mother/to father/something different/

10 It's a change for the parents.

H: Değişiklik,
Something different/

geliyoruz gidiyoruz. Oğlumıza gidiyoruz, kızımıza
coming-we/going-we/ To our son/going-we/to our daughter/

gidiyoruz.
going-we/

11 A change, we come and go.
We go to our son and we go to our daughter.

A: Tabi:

12 Of course

H: Gelecek sene oğlum sünnet yaptıracak.
Next/ year/my son/circumcision/will have it done/
izmirdeki.
One in izmir/

13 Next year my son will have his son circumcised. The one
in izmir.

A: Öylemi: A::
Thus-Q/

çok iyi
very/good/

14 Is that so?
Oh, very good

H: işte bu sene sordu yapalım mı diye. Oğlum dedik
You see/this/year/asked/will do-we-Q/saying/My son/said-we/
bu sene ((etc.))
this/year/

15 Well, this year he asked 'Shall we have it done?' We
said, 'My son, this year ((etc.))
(l a t e r)

M: Öyle:, dalıyorum, gene uyanıyorum, dalıyorum, valla-
Like that/ dozing-I/ again/waking up-I/dozing-I/ really/

16 In that way, I doze off, and wake up again, doze off,
really-

H: Tabi:, sıcaktan.
Of course/from heat/

17 Of course, it's because of the heat.
(a f t e r 10 m i n u t e s)

M: Yarı uykuluyum, yani hep yarı uykuda gibiyim.
Half/with sleep-I/that is/always/half/in sleep/like-I/

18 I really feel half asleep, I mean, I feel as if I'm
asleep all the time.

H: Bugün canlanamadınız, tabi orucun etkisi,
Today/could not liven up-you/of course/of fasting/effect/
ilk gün onun için. Yorgun olunca-
first/day/for that/ Tired/ when to be/

19 You haven't been able to liven up today, of course, it's the effect of fasting, the first day, that's why. When you are tired-

M: Banyoda yaptım.
Bath-'too/did-I/

20 I also had a bath.

H: Mahmurluk arttı.
Grogginess/increased/

21 Drowsiness has increased.
(0.2)

((the baby cries))

H: Şuna bak. A::: neoluyo
To that/look/ what-happening/

22 Look at him. A::: what's wrong with you?

M: A:::

23 A:::

EXTRACT 30

Context: Two friends, S (f-55) and A (f-50) are talking about A's grandson, in A's house.

S: Yürümeğe başladımı?
To walking/started-Q/

1 Has he started walking?

A: Daha yürümedi.
Yet/ did not walk/

2 He hasn't yet.

S: Kaç yaşında şimdi?
How many/in age/ now/

3 How old is he now?

A: Hm (.) Yaşını bir ay geçti. Onüç aylık.
First age-acc/one/month/passed/Thirteen/months/

4 Hm (.) It's a month over his first year. Thirteen months.

S: Ha::

5 Ha::

A: Daha yürümedi.
Yet/ did not walk/

6 He hasn't walked yet.

S: Yürür. Günler geçerde yürür.
Will walk/days/ will pass/will walk/

7 He will walk. The days will pass and he will walk.

A: Evet (.) um::: şeye gitti, Karamürsele gitti
Yes/ to thingy/went/ to Karamürsel/went/

babaannesini ziyarete
grandmother-acc/to visit/

8 Yes (.) um::: he went to thingumbob, he went to Karamürsel
to visit his grandmother

S: Ha::? İyi.

9 Ha::? Good.

EXTRACT 31

Context: S (f-50) is staying in her sister's (N, f-57) house temporarily.

N: Temizlik hiç bitmiyo, evi temizledik çiçek
Cleaning/none/not ending/house-acc/cleaned-we/flower/

gibi, böyle dururmu? Durmuyor. Yarışıyo,
like/ thus/stays-Q/ Not staying/getting untidy/

.
karışıyo=
getting untidy/

1 Cleaning never ends, we cleaned the house, why doesn't
it stay clean? It doesn't stay clean. It is getting
untidy, it is getting untidy=

S: =Tabi, kalabalık da ondan, bi taraftan
Of course/crowded-too/from that/one/from side/

toplarsın öbür taraftan-
tidy-you/ other/from side/

2 =Of course, it is crowded, you (would) tidy it from one
end, (it would get untidy) from the other

N: Ne yapsam karışıyo-
What if do-I/

3 Whatever I have done is getting untidy

S: =Bozulur
Gets out of order/

4 =Yes, it would.